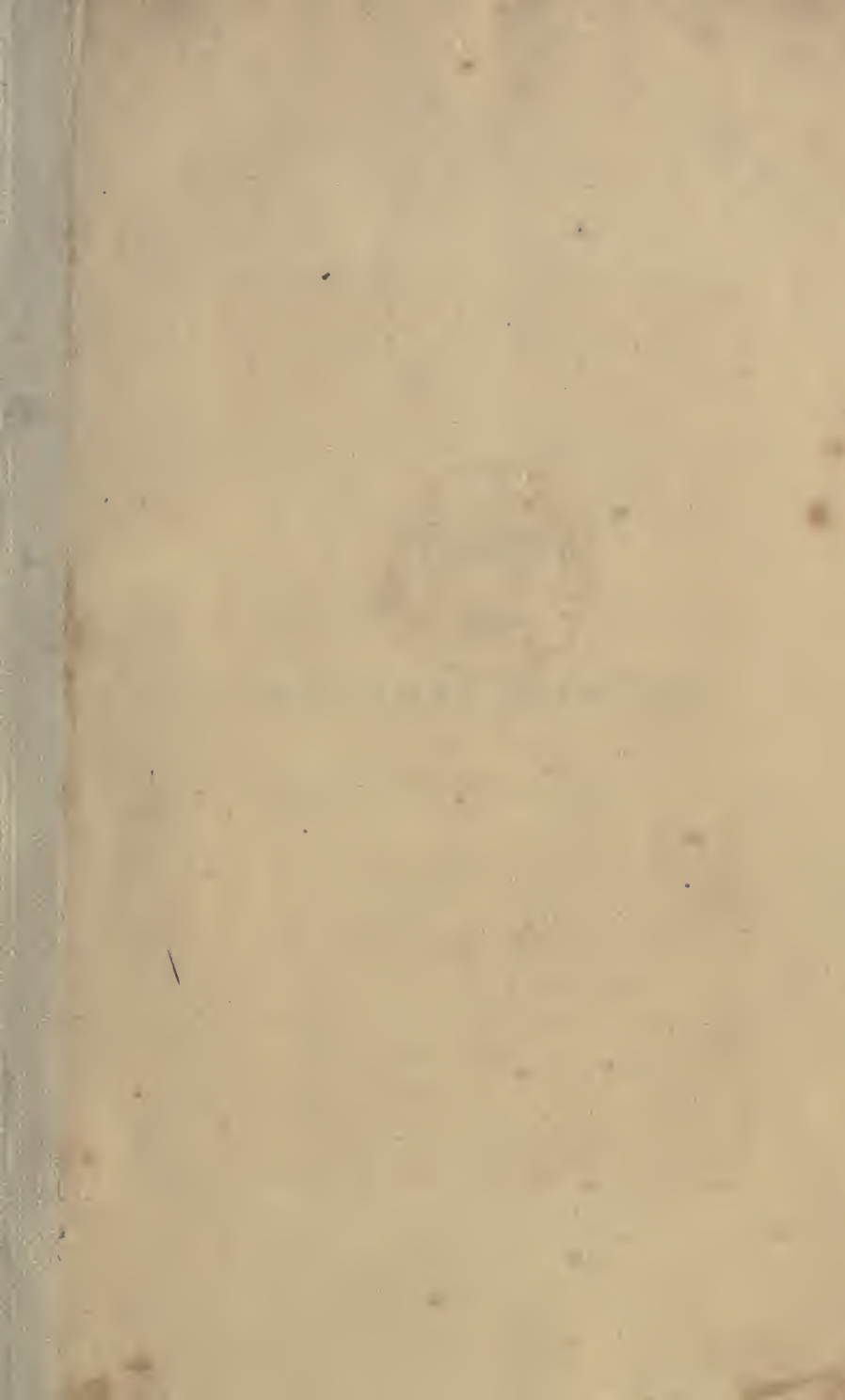




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THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

47.
Settles

THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN ;

CONTAINING
ADDITIONAL LETTERS, TRACTS, AND POEMS,
NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED ;

WITH
NOTES,
AND
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY
SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

SECOND EDITION.

=====
VOLUME III.
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1824.

WORKS

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JOURNAL TO STELLA.



JOURNAL TO STELLA,

CONTINUED.

LETTER XLIII.

London, March 8, 1711-12.

I CARRIED my forty-second letter in my pocket till evening, and then put it in the general post.—I went in the morning to see lord-treasurer, who had taken physic, and was drinking his broth. I had been with the secretary before, to recommend a friend, one Dr Freind, to be physician-general; and the secretary promised to mention it to the queen. I can serve every body but myself. Then I went to court, and carried lord-keeper and the secretary to dine with Lord Masham, when we drank the queen and lord-treasurer with every health, because this was the day of his stabbing.—Then I went and played pools at picquet with Lady Masham and Mrs Hill; won ten shillings, gave a crown to the box, and came home. I met at my lodgings a letter from Jo, with a bit annexed from Ppt. What Jo asks is entirely out of my way; and I take it for a foolish whim in him. Besides, I know not who is to give a patent; if the Duke of Ormond, I would speak to him; but good

security is all ; and to think that I would speak to lord-treasurer for any such matter at random is a jest. Did I tell you of a race of rakes, called the Mohocks, that play the devil about this town every night, slit people's noses, and bid them, &c. ? Night, sirrahs, and love Pdfr. Night, MD.

9. I was at court to-day, and no body invited me to dinner, except one or two, whom I did not care to dine with ; so I dined with Mrs Vanhomrigh. Young Davenant was telling us at court how he was set upon by the Mohocks, and how they ran his chair through with a sword. * It is not safe being in the streets at night for

* Ever since the accession of James I. the streets of London had been infested with a set of disorderly debauchees, who, under the various names of nickers, scowrers, &c. insulted passengers, and attacked the watchmen. Shadwell wrote a play, called " The Scowrers," in which the heroes, men whom he intended to represent as persons of wit, honour, and fashion, are engaged in this disorderly exercise. One of them, a veteran scowrer, thus describes the champions of his youth : " Puh, this is nothing ; why, I knew the *Hectors*, and before them the *Muns*, and the *Tityre Tu's* ; they were brave fellows indeed ; in those days, a man could not go from the Rose Tavern to the Piazza once, but he must venture his life twice, my dear Sir Willy." The fame of the *Muns*, the *Hectors*, and the *Tityre Tu's*, has been obscured by that of the Mohocks, whose insults upon the public were more daring and desperate than those of any Scowrers who had preceded them. They are often mentioned in the Spectator ; and Gay has commemorated some of their exploits in Trivia :—

" Now is the time that rakes their revels keep ;
 Kindlers of riot, enemies of sleep.
 His scatter'd pence the flying Nicker flings,
 And with the copper shower the casement rings.
 Who has not heard the Scowrer's midnight fame ;
 Who has not trembled at the Mohock's name ?

them. The Bishop of Salisbury's son is said to be of the gang. * They are all Whigs ; and a great lady sent to me, to speak to her father and to lord-treasurer, to have a care of them, and to be careful likewise of myself ; for she heard they had malicious intentions against the ministers, and their friends. I know not whether there be any thing in this, though others are of the same opinion. † The weather still continues very fine and fros-

Was there a watchman took his hourly rounds,
Safe from their blows, or new-invented wounds !
I pass their desp'rate deeds, and mischiefs done,
Where from Snow-hill black steepy torrents run ;
How matrons, poop'd within the hogshead's womb,
Were tumbled furious thence ; the rolling tomb
O'er the stones thunders, bounds from side to side :
So Regulus, to save his country, died."

* Thomas Burnet, third son of the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, at this time a student in the Temple, and remarkable for vivacity and dissipation. There are many hints of the irregularity of his conduct in a satirical piece by Dr Arbuthnot, called " Notes and Memorandums of the Six Days preceding the Death of a late Right Reverend ———." And if it is true, as reported, that he really, in anticipation of the Tory satirists, wrote the celebrated song on his father's death, which begins,

The fiends were all brawling
When Burnet descending, &c.

his character for gracelessness and ingenuity may be at once admitted. It is said that the Bishop one day observing him grave, asked him, what he meditated ? " A greater work than your Lordship's History of the Reformation—my own reformation." This task he at last achieved ; and having gone through several offices of trust and importance, died one of the Justices of the Common Pleas in 1753.

† In the History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne, Swift does not hesitate to give it as a historical fact, that the outrages of the Mohocks were part of an extensive plan to create riot and

ty. I walked in the Park this evening, and came home early to avoid the Mohocks. Lord-treasurer is better. Night, my own two dearest MD.

10. I went this morning again to lord-treasurer, who is quite recovered; and I staid till he went out. I dined with a friend in the city, about a little business of printing; but not my own. You must buy a small two-penny pamphlet, called, *Law is a Bottomless Pit*.* It is very prettily written, and there will be a Second Part. The Commons are very slow in bringing in their bill to limit the press, and the pamphleteers make good use of their time; for there come out three or four every day. Well, but is not it time, methinks, to have a letter from MD? it is now six weeks since I had your number 26. I can assure you I expect one before this goes; and I will make shorter days journals than usual, 'cause I hope to fill up a good deal of this side with my answer. Our fine weather lasts yet, but grows a little windy. We shall have rain soon, I suppose. Go to cards, sirrahs, and I to sleep. Night, MD.

11. Lord-treasurer has lent the long letter I writ him to Prior; and I can't get Prior to return it. I want to have it printed, and to make up this academy for the improvement of our language. Faith, we never shall improve it so much as FW has done; shall we? No, faith, our richer *Gengridge*. † I dined privately with

disturbance in the night; under colour of which the Treasurer might be assassinated. This infamous plot he ascribes to Prince Eugene's contrivance.

* Or, "The History of John Bull."

† For language Swift alludes to the jargon they used in their little coterie, and of which the reader has had several specimens.

my friend Lewis, and then went to see Ned Southwell, and talked with him about Walls' business, and Mrs South's. The latter will be done; but his own not. Southwell tells me, that it must be laid before lord-treasurer, and the nature of it explained, and a great deal of clutter, which is not worth the while; and may be, lord-treasurer won't do it at last; and it is, as Walls says himself, not above forty shillings a year difference. You must tell Walls this, unless he would have the business a secret from you; in that case only say, I did all I could with Ned Southwell, and it cannot be done; for it must be laid before lord-treasurer, &c. who will not do it; and besides, it is not worth troubling his lordship. So night, my two dear little MD.

12. Here is the devil and all to do with these Mohocks. Grub Street papers about them fly like lightning, and a list printed of near eighty put into several prisons, and all a lie; and I begin almost to think there is no truth, or very little, in the whole story. He that abused Davenant was a drunken gentleman; none of that gang. My man tells me, that one of the lodgers heard in a coffee-house, publicly, that one design of the Mohocks was upon me, if they could catch me; and though I believe nothing of it, I forbear walking late, and they have put me to the charge of some shillings already. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer and two gentlemen of the Highlands of Scotland, yet very polite men. I sat there till nine, and then went to Lord Masham's, where lord-treasurer followed me, and we sat till twelve; and I came home in a chair for fear of the Mohocks, and I have given him warning of it too. Little Harrison, whom I sent to Holland, is now actually made queen's secretary at the Hague. It will be in the

Gazette to-morrow. It is worth twelve hundred pounds a year.

Here is a young fellow has writ some Sea Eclogues, Poems of Mermen, resembling pastorals and shepherds, and they are very pretty, and the thought is new. Mermen are he-mermaids; Tritons, natives of the sea. Do you understand me? I think to recommend him to our society to-morrow. His name is Diaper. P— on him, I must do something for him, and get him out of the way. I hate to have any new wits rise, but when they do rise I would encourage them; but they tread on our heels and thrust us off the stage. Night, dearest MD.

13. You would laugh to see our printer constantly attending our society after dinner, and bringing us whatever new thing he has printed, which he seldom fails to do; yet he had nothing to-day. Lord Lansdown, one of our society, was offended at a passage in this day's Examiner, which he thinks reflects on him, as I believe it does, though in a mighty civil way. It is only that his underlings cheat; but that he is a very fine gentleman every way, &c. Lord Orrery was president to-day; but both our dukes were absent. Brother Wyndham recommended Diaper to the society. I believe we shall make a contribution among ourselves, which I don't like. Lord-treasurer has yet done nothing for us, but we shall try him soon. The company parted early, but Freind, and Prior, and I, sat awhile longer and reformed the state, and found fault with the ministry. Prior hates his commission of the customs, because it spoils his wit. He says he dreams of nothing but cockets, and dockets, and drawbacks, and other jargon, words of the custom-house. Our good weather went away yesterday,

and the nights are now dark, and I came home before ten. Night, my dearest sirrahs.

14. I have been plagued this morning with solicitors, and with nobody more than my brother, Dr Freind, who must needs have me to get old Dr Lawrence, the physician-general, turned out and himself in. He has argued with me so long upon the reasonableness of it, and I am fully convinced it is very unreasonable; and so I would tell the secretary, if I had not already made him speak to the queen. Besides, I know not but my friend Dr Arbuthnot would be content to have it himself, and I love him ten times better than Freind. What's all this to you? but I must talk of things as they happen in the day, whether you know any thing of them or not. I dined in the city, and, coming back, one Parson Richardson * of Ireland overtook me. He was here last summer upon a project of converting the Irish and printing Bibles, &c. in that language, and is now returned to pursue it on. He tells me, Dr Coghill came last night to town. I will send to see how he does to-morrow. He gave me a letter from Walls about his old business. Night, dearest MD.

15. I had intended to be early with the secretary this morning, when my man admitted up stairs one Mr Newcomb, an officer, who brought me a letter from the Bishop of Clogher, with four lines added by Mr Ashe, all about that Newcomb. I think, indeed, his case is hard, but God knows whether I shall be able to do him any service. People will not understand: I am a very good second, but I care not to begin a recommendation, un-

* John Richardson, Rector of Annult, alias Belturbet, and chaplain to the Duke of Ormond.

less it be for an intimate friend. However, I will do what I can. I missed the secretary, and then walked to Chelsea to dine with the Dean of Christchurch,* who was engaged to Lord Orrery with some other Christchurch-men. He made me go with him whether I would or not, for they have this long time admitted me a Christchurch-man. Lord Orrery, generally every winter, gives his old acquaintance of that college a dinner. There were nine clergymen at table, and four laymen. The dean and I soon left them, and after a visit or two, I went to Lord Masham's and lord-treasurer, Arbuthnot and I sat till twelve. And now I am come home and got to-bed. I came a-foot, but had my man with me. Lord-treasurer advised me not to go in a chair, because the Mohocks insult chairs more than they do those on foot. They think there is some mischievous design in those villains. Several of them, lord-treasurer told me, are actually taken up. I heard, at dinner, that one of them was killed last night. We shall know more in a little time. I do not like them as to men. ****

16. This morning, at the secretary's, I met General Ross, and recommended Newcomb's case to him, who promises to join with me in working up the Duke of Ormond to do something for him. Lord Winchelsea told me to-day at court, that two of the Mohocks caught a maid of old Lady Winchelsea's, at the door of their house in the park, with a candle, and had just lighted out somebody. They cut all her face, and beat her without any provocation. I hear my friend Lewis has got a

* Dr Atterbury.

Mohock in one of the messengers' hands.* The queen was at church to-day, but was carried in an open chair. She has got an ugly cough, Arbuthnot, her physician, says. I dined with Crowe, late governor of Barbados; an acquaintance of Sterne's. After dinner I asked him,

* The following account of the brutal practices of these rakes is given in the Spectator:—"Agreeable to their name, the avowed design of their institution is mischief; and upon this foundation all their rules and orders are framed. An outrageous ambition of doing all possible hurt to their fellow-creatures is the great cement of their assembly, and the only qualification required in the members. In order to exert this principle in its full strength and perfection, they take care to drink themselves to a pitch, that is, beyond the possibility of attending to any motions of reason or humanity; then make a general sally, and attack all that are so unfortunate as to walk the streets through which they patrol. Some are knocked down, others stabbed, others cut and carbonaded. To put the watch to a total rout, and mortify some of those inoffensive militia, is reckoned a *coup d'eclat*. The particular talents by which these misanthropes are distinguished from one another consist in the various kinds of barbarities which they execute upon their prisoners. Some are celebrated for a happy dexterity in tipping the lion upon them; which is performed by squeezing the nose flat to the face, and boring out the eyes with their fingers. Others are called the dancing-masters, and teach their scholars to cut capers, by running swords through their legs; a new invention, whether originally French, I cannot tell. A third sort are the tumblers, whose office is to set women on their heads, and commit certain indecencies, or rather barbarities, on the limbs which they expose. But these I forbear to mention, because they cannot but be very shocking to the reader, as well as the spectator."—*Spectator*, No. 324. A proclamation was issued, offering L.100 reward to any one who would bring to justice any of these desperadoes. But as the only persons tried for such offences proved to be common foot-pads, it was keenly argued by the Whigs, that the notion of these riots and barbarities had been greatly exaggerated by the agents of ministers, in order to throw odium on the opposition.

whether he had heard of Stearn? Here he is, said he, at the door in a coach: and in came Stearn. He has been here this week. He is buying a captainship, in his cousin Stearn's regiment. He told me, he left Jemmy Leigh playing at cards with you. He is to give 800 guineas for his commission. I suppose you know all this better than I. How shall I have room to answer your letter when I get it, I have gone so far already? Night, dearest rogues.

17. Dr Sacheverel came this morning, to give me thanks for getting his brother an employment. It was but six or seven weeks since I spoke to lord-treasurer for him. Sacheverel brought Trap along with him. We dined together at my printer's, and I sate with them till seven. I little thought, and I believe so did he, that ever I should be his solicitor to the present ministry, when I left Ireland. This is the seventh I have now provided for since I came, and can do nothing for myself. I don't care; I shall have ministries and other people obliged to me. Trap is a coxcomb, and the other is not very deep; and their judgment in things of wit and sense is miraculous. The Second Part of *Law is a Bottomless Pit* is just now printed, and better, I think, than the first. Night, my two dear saucy little rogues.

18. There is a proclamation out against the Mohocks. One of those that are taken is a baronet. I dined with poor Mrs Wesley, who is returning to the Bath. Mrs Percival's youngest daughter has got the small-pox, but will do well. I walked this evening in the Park, and met Prior, who made me go home with him, where I staid till past twelve, and could not get a coach, and was alone, and was afraid enough of the Mohocks. I will do so no more, though I got home safe. Prior and I were

talking discontentedly about some managements, that no more people are turned out, which gets lord-treasurer many enemies : but whether the fault be in him, or the queen, I know not ; I doubt, in both. Young women, it is now seven weeks since I received your last ; but I expect one next packet, to fill the rest of this paper ; but, if it don't come, I'll do without it : so I wish you good luck at ombre with the dean. Night, ****

19. Newcomb came to me this morning, and I went to the Duke of Ormond to speak for him ; but the Duke was just going out to take the oaths for general. The Duke of Shrewsbury is to be Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. I walked with Domville and Ford to Kensington, where we dined, and it cost me above a crown. I don't like it, as my man said. It was very windy walking. I saw there Lord Masham's children. The youngest, my nephew, I fear, has got the king's evil ; the other two are daughters of three and four years old. The gardens there are mighty fine. I passed the evening at Lord Masham's with lord-treasurer and Arbuthnot, as usual, and we staid till past one ; but I had my man to come with me, and at home I found three letters ; one from one Fetherston, a parson, with a postscript of Tisdall's to recommend him. And Fetherston, whom I never saw, has been so kind as to give me a letter of attorney, to recover a debt for him : another from Lord Abercorn, to get him the dukedom of Châtelleraut from the King of France ; in which I will do what I can, for his pretensions are very just :* the third I warrant you, from our

* The claims of the Earl of Abercorn upon the dukedom of Chatelherault stand thus. That peerage was conferred on the Earl of Arran, during the minority of Queen Mary of Scotland, as a

MD. It is a great stir this, of getting a dukedom from the King of France : but it is only to speak to the secretary, and get the Duke of Ormond to engage in it, and mention the case to lord-treasurer, &c. and this I shall do. Night, dearest little MD.

20. I was with the Duke of Ormond this morning, about Lord Abercorn, Dr Freind, and Newcomb. Some will do, and some will not do : that's wise, mistresses. The Duke of Shrewsbury is certainly to be your governor. I will go in a day or two, and give the Duchess joy, and recommend the Archbishop of Dublin to her. I writ to the archbishop, some months ago, that it would be so : and told him I would speak a good word for him to the Duchess ; and he says he has a great respect for her, &c. I made our society change their house, and we met together at the Star and Garter in the Pall Mall. Lord Arran was president. The other dog was so extravagant in his bills, that for four dishes

part of the gratuity which he received from the court of France, for resigning the regency of the kingdom to Mary of Lorraine, the queen's mother. The eldest son of the Earl of Arran, first Duke of Chatelherault, died without issue. The male line of his second son became extinct by the death of William, the second Duke of Hamilton, mortally wounded at the battle of Worcester, 1651. The estate and title of Duchess of Hamilton devolved upon an heir-female, Lady Anne Hamilton, who married the Earl of Selkirk. Their son was James, fourth Duke of Hamilton, often mentioned in this Journal. But as this nobleman only represented the House of Hamilton, in right of his mother, it became a question, whether the French dukedom of Chatelherault ought to descend to him ; or whether, as a male fief, it should pass to the Earl of Abercorn, the lineal descendant of Lord Claud Hamilton, third son of James, the first Duke of Chatelherault, he being undoubted heir-male of the Hamilton family.

and four, first and second course, without wine or desert, he charged twenty-one pounds, six shillings, and eightpence, to the Duke of Ormond. We design, when all have been presidents this turn, to turn it into a reckoning of so much a head; but we shall break up when the session ends. Night, dearest.

21. Morning. Now I will answer MD's letter, N. 27; you that are adding to your numbers and grumbling, had made it 26; and then altered it to 27. I believe it is above a month since your last; yes, it is above seven weeks since I had your last: but I ought to consider that this was twelve days right, [writing,] so that makes it pretty even. O, the sorry jades, with their excuses of a fortnight at Baligall, seeing their friends, and landlord running away. O what a trouble and a bustle!—No—if you will have it—I am not Dean of Wells, * nor know any thing of being so; nor is there any thing in the story; and that's enough. It was not Roper sent that news: Roper is my humble slave.—Yes, I heard of your resolves, and that Burton was embroiled. Stratford spoke to me in his behalf; but I said I hated the rascal. Poor Catherine gone to Wales? But she will come back again, I hope. I would see her in my journey, if she were near the road; and bring her over. Joe is a fool; that sort of business is not at all in my way, pray put him off it. People laugh when I mention it. Beg your pardon, mistress: I am glad you like the

* The deanery of Wells was at this time vacant by the death of Dr William Graham, the last incumbent. Both friends and foes thought it would have been conferred upon Swift; but the unseen influence which counteracted his preferment predominated, and it was given to Dr Matthew Brailsford.

apron : no harm, I hope. And so MD wonders she has not a letter all the day ; she will have it soon. The deuce he is ! married to that vengeance ! Men are not to be believed. I don't think her a fool. Who would have her ? Dilly will be governed like an ass ; and she will govern like a lion. Is not that true, Ppt ? Why, Sterne told me he left you at ombre with Leigh ; and yet you never saw him. I know nothing of his wife being here : it may cost her a — (I don't like to write that word plain.) He is a little in doubt about buying his commission. Yes, I will bring you over all the little papers I can think on. I thought I sent you, by Leigh, all that were good at that time. The author of the Sea Eclogues sent books to the society yesterday, and we gave him guineas a-piece ; and, may be, will do farther from him, (for him, I mean.) So the Bishop of Clogher, and lady, were your guests for a night or two. Why, Ppt, you are grown a great gamester and company keeper. I did say to myself, when I read those names, just what you guess ; and you clear up the matter wonderfully. You may converse with those two nymphs if you please, but — take me if ever I do. Yes, faith, it is delightful to hear that Ppt is every way Ppt now, in health, and looks, and all. Pray God keep her so, many, many, many years. The session, I doubt, will not be over till the end of April ; however, I shall not wait for it, if the ministry will let me go sooner. I wish I were just now in my little garden at Laracor. I would set out for Dublin early on Monday, and bring you an account of my young trees, which you are better acquainted with than the ministry, and so am I. O, now you have got number 41, have you so ? Why, perhaps, I forgot, and kept it to next post in my

pocket : I have done such tricks. My cold is better, but not gone. I want air and riding. Hold your tongue, you Ppt, about colds at Moor Park ! the case is quite different. I will do what you desire me for Tisdall, when I next see Lord Anglesey. Pray give him my service. The weather is warm these three or four days, and rainy. I am to dine to-day with Lewis and Darteneuf at Somers's, the clerk of the kitchen at court. Darteneuf loves good bits and good sups. Good morrow, little sirrahs.—At night. I dined, as I said ; and it cost me a shilling for a chair. It has rained all day, and is very warm. Lady Masham's young son my nephew, is very ill ; and she is sick with grief. I pity her mightily. I am got home early, and going to write to the Bishop of Clogher, but have no politics to send him. Night, my own two dearest saucy dear ones.

22. I am going into the city this morning with a friend about some business ; so I will immediately seal up this, and keep it in my pocket till evening, and then put it in the post. The weather continues warm and gloomy. I have heard no news since I went to bed, so can say no more. Pray send ***** ** that I may have time to write to ***** about it. I have here underneath given order * for forty shillings to Mrs Brent, which you will send to Parvisol. Farewell, dearest dear MD, and love Pdfr dearly. Farewell, MD, MD, MD, &c. there, there, there, there, there, and there, and there again.

* This is cut off.

LETTER XLIV.

London, March 22, 1711-12.

UGLY, nasty weather. I was in the city to-day with Mrs Wesley and Mrs Percival, to get money from a banker for Mrs Wesley, who goes to Bath on Thursday. I left him there, and dined with a friend, and went to see lord-treasurer; but he had people with him I did not know: so I went to Lady Masham's, and lost a crown with her at picquet, and then sate with Lord Masham and lord-treasurer, &c. till past one; but I had my man with me, to come home. I gave in my forty-third, and one for the Bishop of Clogher, to the post-office, as I came from the city; and so you know it is late now, and I have nothing to say for this day. Our Mohocks are all vanished; however, I shall take care of my person. * Night, my dearest MD.

23. I was this morning, before church, with the se-

* In ridicule probably of the real or affected fears of the Tories, the Spectator informs the public: "The late panic fear was, in the opinion of many deep and penetrating persons, of the same nature. These will have it, that the Mohocks are like those spectres and apparitions which frighten several towns or villages in her Majesty's dominions, though they were never seen by any of the inhabitants. Others are apt to think, that these Mohocks are a kind of bull beggars, first invented by prudent married men and masters of families, in order to deter their wives and daughters from taking the air at unseasonable hours; and that, when they tell them 'the Mohocks will catch them,' it is a caution of the same nature with that of our forefathers, when they bid their children have a care of Rawhead or Bloody-bones."—*Spectator*, No. 347.

cretary, about Lord Abercorn's business, and some others. My soliciting season is come, and will last as long as the session. I went late to court, and the company was almost gone. The court serves me for a coffee-house ; once a week I meet an acquaintance there, that I should not otherwise see in a quarter. There is a flying report, that the French have offered a cessation of arms, and to give us Dunkirk, and the Dutch Namur, for security, till the peace is made. The Duke of Ormond, they say, goes in a week. Abundance of his equipage is already gone. His friends are afraid the expence of this employment will ruin him, since he must lose the government of Ireland. I dined privately with a friend, and refused all dinners offered me at court ; which, however, were but two, and I did not like either. Did I tell you of a scoundrel about the court, that sells employments to ignorant people, and cheats them of their money ? He lately made a bargain for the vice-chamberlain's place, for seven thousand pounds, and had received some guineas earnest ; but the whole thing was discovered the other day, and examination taken of it by Lord Dartmouth, and I hope he will be swung. The vice-chamberlain told me several particulars of it last night at Lord Masham's. Can DD play at ombre yet, enough to hold the cards while Ppt steps into the next room ? Night, dearest sirrahs.

24. This morning I recommended Newcomb again to the Duke of Ormond, and left Dick Stewart to do it farther. Then I went to visit the Duchess of Hamilton, who was not awake. So I went to the Duchess of Shrewsbury, and sat an hour at her toilet. I talked to her about the duke's being lord-lieutenant. She said she knew nothing of it ; but I rallied her out of that, and she

resolves not to stay behind the duke. I intend to recommend the Bishop of Clogher to her for an acquaintance. He will like her very well : she is, indeed, a most agreeable woman, and a great favourite of mine. I know not whether the ladies in Ireland will like her. I was at the Court of Requests, to get some lords to be at a committee to-morrow, about a friend's bill : and then the Duke of Beaufort gave me a poem, finely bound in folio, printed at Stamford, and writ by a country squire. Lord Exeter desired the duke to give it the queen, because the author is his friend ; but the duke desired I would let him know whether it was good for any thing. I brought it home, and will return it to-morrow, as the dullest thing I ever read ; and advise the duke not to present it. I dined with Domville at his lodgings, by invitation ; for he goes in a few days for Ireland. Night, dear MD.

25. There is a mighty feast at a Tory sheriff's to-day in the city : twelve hundred dishes of meat.—Above five lords, and several hundred gentlemen, will be there, and give four or five guineas a-piece, according to custom. Dr Coghill and I dined, by invitation, at Mrs Van's. It has rained or mizzled all day, as my pockets feel. There are two new answers come out to the Conduct of the Allies. The last year's Examiners, printed together in a small volume, go off but slowly. The printer over-printed himself by at least a thousand ; so soon out of fashion are party papers, however so well writ. The Medleys are coming out in the same volume, and perhaps may sell better. Our news about a cessation of arms begins to flag, and I have not these three days seen any body in business to ask them about it. We had a terrible fire last night in Drury-Lane, or there-

abouts, and three or four people destroyed. One of the maids of honour has the small-pox : but the best is, she can lose no beauty ; and we have one new handsome maid of honour. Night, MD.

26. I forgot to tell you, that on Sunday last, about seven at night, it lightned above fifty times as I walked the Mall, which I think is extraordinary at this time of the year, and the weather was very hot. Had you any thing of this in Dublin ? I intended to dine with lord-treasurer to-day ; but Lord Mansel and Mr Lewis made me dine with them at Kit Musgrave's. Now you don't know who Kit Musgrave is. I sate the evening with Mrs Wesley, who goes to-morrow morning to the Bath. She is much better than she was. The news of the French desiring a cessation of arms, &c. was but town talk. We shall know in a few days, as I am told, whether there will be a peace or not. The Duke of Ormond will go in a week for Flanders, they say. Our Mohocks go on still, and cut people's faces every night, but they shan't cut mine. I like it better as it is. The dogs will cost me at least a crown a-week in chairs. I believe the souls of your houghers of cattle have got into them, and now they don't distinguish between a cow and a Christian. I forgot to wish you yesterday a happy new-year. You know the twenty-fifth of March is the first day of the year, and now you must leave off cards, and put out your fire. I'll put out mine the first of April, cold or not cold. I believe I shall lose credit with you, by not coming over at the beginning of April ; but I hoped the session would be ended, and 'I must stay till then ; yet I would fain be at the beginning of my willows growing. Percival tells me, that the quicksets upon the flat in the garden do not grow so well as those

famous ones on the ditch. They want digging about them. The cherry trees, by the river side, my heart is set upon.

27. Society day, you know, that's I suppose. Dr Arbuthnett* was president. His dinner was dressed in the queen's kitchen, and was mighty fine. We eat it at Ozinda's chocolate-house, just by St James's. We were never merrier, nor better company, and did not part till after eleven. I did not summon Lord Lansdown: he and I are fallen out. There was something in an Examiner a fortnight ago, that he thought reflected on the abuses in his office, (he is secretary at war,) and he writ to the secretary, that he heard I had inserted that paragraph. This I resented highly, that he should complain of me before he spoke to me. I sent him a peppering letter, and would not summon him by a note, as I did the rest; nor ever will have any thing to say to him, till he begs my pardon. I met lord-treasurer to-day, at Lady Masham's. He would fain have carried me home to dinner, but I begged his pardon. What! upon a society day! No, no. It is late, sirrahs. I am not drunk.—Night, MD.

28. I was with my friend Lewis to-day, getting materials for a little mischief; and I dined with lord-treasurer, and three or four fellows I never saw before. I left them at seven, and came home, and have been writing to the Archbishop of Dublin, and cousin Deane, in answer to one of his of four months old, that I spied by chance, routing among my papers. Domville is going to Ireland; he came here this morning to take leave of me, but I shall dine with him to-morrow. Does the

* So spelt by the Dean.

Bishop of Clogher talk of coming for England this summer? I think Lord Molesworth told me so about two months ago. The weather is bad again; rainy and very cold this evening. Do you know what the longitude is? A projector has been applying himself to me, to recommend him to the ministry, because he pretends to have found out the longitude. I believe he has no more found it out than he has found out my —. However, I will gravely hear what he says, and discover him a knave or fool.

29. I am plagued with these pains in my shoulder; I believe it is the rheumatic; I will do something for it to-night. Mr Lewis and I dined with Mr Domville, to take our leave of him. I drank three or four glasses of Champaign by perfect teasing, though it is bad for my pain; but if it continue, I will not drink any wine without water till I am well. The weather is abominably cold and wet. I am got into bed, and have put some old flannel, for want of new, to my shoulder; and rubbed it with Hungary water. It is plaguy hard. I never would drink any wine, if it were not for my head, and drinking has given me this pain. I will try abstemiousness for a while. How does MD do now; how does DD, and Ppt? You must know I hate pain, as the old woman said. But I'll try to go to sleep. My flesh sucks up Hungary water rarely. My man is an awkward rascal, and makes me peevish. Do you know that the other day he was forced to beg my pardon, that he could not shave my head, his hand shook so? He is drunk every day, and I design to turn him off as soon as ever I get to Ireland. I'll write no more now, but go to sleep, and see whether flannel and sleep will cure my shoulder. Night, dearest MD.

30. I was not able to go to church or court to-day. The pain has left my shoulder, and crept to my neck and collar-bone. It makes me think of poor Ppt's blade-bone. Urge, urge, urge; dogs gnawing. I went in a chair at two, and dined with Mrs Van, where I could be easy, and came back at seven. My Hungary water is gone; and to-night use spirits of wine; which my landlady tells me is very good. It has rained terribly hard all day long, and is extremely cold. I am very uneasy, and such cruel twinges every moment! Night, dearest MD.

31. April 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. All these days I have been extremely ill; though I twice crawled out a week ago; but am now recovering, though very weak. The violence of my pain abated the night before last: I will just tell you how I was, and then send this letter, which ought to have gone Saturday last. The pain increased with mighty violence in my left shoulder and collar-bone, and that side my neck. On Thursday morning appeared great red spots in all those places where my pain was, and the violence of the pain was confined to my neck, behind or a little on the left side; which was so violent, that I had not a minute's ease, nor hardly a minute's sleep in three days and nights. The spots increased every day, and red little pimples, which are now grown white, and full of corruption, though small. The red still continues too, and most prodigious hot and inflamed. The disease is the shingles. I eat nothing but water-gruel; am very weak; but out of all violent pain. The doctors say it would have ended in some violent disease, if it had not come out thus. I shall now recover fast. I have been in no danger of life, but miserable torture. So adieu, dearest MD, FW, &c.

There, I can say *there* yet, you see. Faith, I don't conceal a bit, as hope saved.

P. S. I must purge and clyster after this; and my next letter will not be in the old order of journal, till I have done with physic. Are you not surprised to see a letter want half a side?

LETTER XLV.

London, April 24, 1712.

I HAD yours two or three days ago. I can hardly answer it now. Since my last I have been extremely ill. 'Tis this day just a month since I felt the pain on the tip of my left shoulder, which grew worse, and spread for six days; then broke all out by my collar, and left side of my neck in monstrous red spots inflamed, and these grew to small pimples. For four days I had no rest, nor nights, for a pain in my neck; then I grew a little better; afterward, where my pains were, a cruel itching seized me, beyond whatever I could imagine, and kept me awake several nights. I rubbed it vehemently, but did not scratch it: then it grew into three or four great sores like blisters, and run; at last I advised the doctor to use it like a blister, so I did with melilot plasters, which still run: and am now in pain enough, but am daily mending. I kept my chamber a fortnight, then went out a day or two, but confined myself two days ago. I went to a neighbour to dine, but yesterday again kept at home. To-day I will venture abroad, and hope to be well in a week or ten days. I never suffer-

ed so much in my life. I have taken my breeches in above two inches, so I am leaner, which answers one question in your letter. The weather is mighty fine. I write in the morning, because I am better then. I will go try to walk a little. I will give DD's certificate to Tooke to-morrow. Farewell, MD, &c.

LETTER XLVI.

London, May 10, 1712.

I HAVE not yet ease or humour enough to go on in my journal method, though I have left my chamber these ten days. My pain continues still in my shoulder and collar: I keep flannel on it, and rub it with brandy, and take a nasty diet drink. I still itch terribly, and have some few pimples: I am weak, and sweat; and then the flannel makes me mad with itching; but I think my pain lessens. A journal; while I was sick, would have been a noble thing, made up of pain and physic, visits, and messages; the two last were almost as troublesome as the two first. One good circumstance is, that I am grown much leaner. I believe I told you that I have taken in my breeches two inches. I had your N. 29 last night. In answer to your good opinion of my disease, the doctors said they never saw any thing so odd of the kind; they were not properly shingles, but *herpes miliaris*, and twenty other hard names. I can never be sick like other people, but always something out of the common way; and as for your notion of its coming without pain, it neither came, nor staid, nor went without

pain, and the most pain I ever bore in my life. Medemeris * is retired in the country, with the beast her husband, long ago. I thank the Bishop of Clogher for his proxy; I will write to him soon. Here is Dilly's wife in town; but I have not seen her yet. No, simpleton: it is not a sign of health, but a sign, that if it had not come out, some terrible fit of sickness would have followed. I was at our society last Thursday, to receive a new member, the chancellor of the exchequer; but I drink nothing above wine and water. We shall have a peace, I hope, soon, or at least entirely broke; but I believe the first. My Letter to Lord-Treasurer, about the English Tongue, is now printing; and I suffer my name to be put at the end of it, which I never did before in my life. The Appendix to the Third Part of John Bull was published yesterday; it is equal to the rest. I hope you read John Bull. It was a Scotch gentleman, a friend of mine, that writ it; but they put it upon me. The parliament will hardly be up till June. We were like to be undone some days ago with a tack; † but we carried it bravely, and the Whigs came in to help us. Poor Lady Masham, I am afraid, will lose her only son, about a twelvemonth old, with the king's evil. I never would let Mrs Fenton see me during my illness, though she often came; but she has been once since I recovered. Bernage has been twice to see me of late. His regiment will be broke, and he only upon half-pay; so perhaps he thinks he will want me again. I am told here

* Madam Ayris.

† A tack is a bill tacked to a money bill, that as both must be passed or rejected together, the tacked bill may pass, because the money bill must.

the Bishop of Clogher and family are coming over ; but he says nothing of it himself. I have been returning the visits of those that sent *howdees* in my sickness ; particularly the Duchess of Hamilton, who came and sat with me two hours. I make bargains with all people that I dine with, to let me scrub my back against a chair ; and the Duchess of Ormond was forced to bear it the other day. Many of my friends are gone to Kensington, where the queen has been removed for some time. This is a long letter for a sick body. I will begin the next in the journal way, though my journals will be sorry ones. My left hand is very weak, and trembles ; but my right side has not been touched.

This is a pitiful letter
 For want of a better ;
 But plagued with a tetter,
 My fancy does fetter.

Ah ! my poor willows and quicksets ! Well, but you must read John Bull : Do you understand it all ? Did I tell you that young Parson Gery is going to be married, and asked my advice when it was too late to break off ? He tells me Elwick has purchased forty pounds a-year in land adjoining to his living. Ppt does not say one word of her own little health. I am angry almost ; but I won't, because she is a good girl in other things. Yes, and so is DD too. God bless MD, and FW, and Me, and Pdfr too. Farewell, MD, MD, MD, Lele. I can say lele yet, young women ; yes I can, well as you.

LETTER XLVII.

London, May 31, 1712.

I CANNOT yet arrive to my journal letters, my pains continuing still, though with less violence ; but I don't love to write journals while I am in pain ; and above all, not journals to MD. But, however, I am so much mended, that I intend my next shall be in the old way ; and yet I shall, perhaps, break my resolution when I feel pain. I believe I have lost credit with you, in relation to my coming over ; but I protest it is impossible for one, who has any thing to do with this ministry, to be certain when he fixes any time. There is a business, which, till it take some turn or other, I cannot leave this place in prudence or honour. And I never wished so much as now, that I had staid in Irèland ; but the die is cast, and is now a spinning, and till it settles, I cannot tell whether it be an ace or a sise. The moment I am used ill, I will leave them ; but know not how to do it while things are in suspence.—The session will soon be over, (I believe in a fortnight,) and the peace, we hope, will be made in a short time ; and there will be no farther occasion for me ; nor have I any thing to trust to but court gratitude ; so that I expect to see my willows a month after the Parliament is up : but I will take MD in my way, and not go to Laracor like an unmannerly spreenckish fellow. Have you seen my Letter to Lord-Treasurer ? There are two answers come out to it already ; though it is no politics, but a harmless proposal about the improvement of the English

Tongue. I believe if I writ an essay upon a straw some fool would answer it. About ten days hence I expect a letter from MD, N. 30.—You are now writing it, near the end, as I guess.—I have not received DD's money; but I will give you a note for it on Parviscl, and beg your pardon I have not done it before. I am just now thinking to go lodge at Kensington for the air. Lady Masham has teased me to do it, but business has hindered me; but now lord-treasurer has removed thither. Fifteen of our society dined together under a canopy in an arbour at Parson's Green last Thursday; I never saw any thing so fine and romantic. We got a great victory last Wednesday in the House of Lords by a majority, I think, of twenty-eight; and the Whigs had desired their friends to bespeak places to see lord-treasurer carried to the Tower. I met your Higgins here yesterday; he roars at the insolence of the Whigs in Ireland, talks much of his own sufferings and expences in asserting the cause of the church; and I find he would fain plead merit enough to desire that his fortune should be mended.* I believe he designs to make as much noise as he can in order to preferment. Pray let the provost, when he sees you, give you ten English shillings, and I will give as much here to the man who delivered me Rymer's books: he knows the meaning. Tell him I will not trust him, but that you can order it to be paid me here; and I will trust you till I see you. Have I told you that the rogue Patrick has left me these two months to my great satisfaction? I have got another who seems to be much better, if he continues it. I am

* In his debates with Lord Santry, who endeavoured to get him turned out of the commission of the peace.

printing a threepenny pamphlet,* and shall print another in a fortnight, and then I have done, unless some new occasion starts. Is my curate Warburton married to Mrs Melthrop in my parish? so I hear. Or is it a lie? Has Raymond got to his new house? Do you see Joe now and then? What luck have you at ombre? How stands it with the dean?**** My service to Mrs Stoyte, and Catherine, if she be come from Wales. I have not yet seen Dilly Ashe's wife. I called once, but she was not at home: I think she is under the doctor's hand.**** I believe the news of the Duke of Ormond producing letters in the council of war, with orders not to fight, will surprise you in Ireland. Lord-treasurer said in the House of Lords, that in a few days the treaty of peace should be laid before them; and our court thought it wrong to hazard a battle, and sacrifice many lives in such a juncture. † If the peace holds, all will do well, otherwise I know not how we shall weather it. And it was reckoned as a wrong step in politics for lord-treasurer to open himself so much. The secretary would not go so far to satisfy the Whigs in the House of Commons; but there all went swimmingly. I'll say no more to you to-night, sirrahs, because I must send away the letter, not by the bell, but early: and besides,

* "Some Reasons to prove that no person is obliged, by his Principles as a Whig, to oppose her Majesty in the present Ministry."

† The Duke of Ormond's private instructions were not to hazard a battle, or undertake a siege, as the negotiation was in such a prosperous train. He was compelled, in justice to his own character, to make his orders known to the council of war, when an attack was proposed on the camp of Marshal Villars.

I have not much more to say at this present writing. Does MD never read at all now, pray? But you walk prodigiously, I suppose.—You make nothing of walking to, to, to, ay, to Donybrook. I walk as much as I can, because sweating is good; but I'll walk more if I go to Kensington. I suppose I shall have no apples this year neither. So I dined the other day with Lord Rivers, who is sick at his country house, and he showed me all his cherries blasted. Night, dearest sirrahs; farewell, dearest lives, love poor Pdfr. Farewell, dearest little MD, MD, MD, FW, FW, FW, Me, Me, Lele, Me, Lele, Lele, little MD.

LETTER XLVIII.

Kensington, June 17, 1712.

I HAVE been so tosticated about since my last, that I could not go on in my journal manner, though my shoulder is a great deal better; however, I feel violent pain in it, but I think it diminishes, and I have cut off some slices from my flannel. I have lodged here near a fortnight, partly for the air and exercise, partly to be near the court, where dinners are to be found. I generally get a lift in a coach to town, and in the evening I walk back. On Saturday I dined with the Duchess of Ormond at her lodge near Sheen, and thought to get a boat as usual. I walked by the bank to Kew, but no boat, then to Mortlake, but no boat, and it was nine o'clock. At last a little sculler called, full of nasty people. I made him set me down at Hammersmith, so walked two

miles to this place, and got here by eleven. Last night I had another such difficulty. I was in the city till past ten at night; it rained hard, but no coach to be had. It gave over a little, and I walked all the way here, and got home by twelve. I love these shabby difficulties when they are over; but I hate them, because they arise from not having a thousand pounds a-year. I had your N. 30 about three days ago, which I will now answer. And first I did not relapse, but I came out before I ought; and so, and so, as I have told you in some of my last. The first *coming* abroad, the first going abroad made people think I was quite recovered, and I had no more messages afterward. Well, but John Bull is not wrote by the person you imagine. It is too good for another to own. Had it been Grub Street, I would have let people think as they please; and I think that's right: is not it now? so flap your hand, and make wry mouths yourself, saucy doxy. Now comes DD. Why sirrahs, I did write in a fortnight my 47th; and if it did not come in due time, can I help wind and weather? am I a Laplander? am I witch? can I work miracles? can I make easterly winds? Now I am against Dr Smith. I drink little water with my wine, yet I believe he is right. Yet Dr Cockburn told me a little wine would not hurt me; but it is so hot and dry, and water is so dangerous. The worst thing here is my evenings at Lord Masham's, where lord-treasurer comes, and we sit till after twelve. But it is convenient I should be among them for a while as much as possible. I need not tell you why. But I hope that will be at an end in a month or two, one way or other, and I am resolved it shall; but I can't go to Tunbridge, or any where else out of the way, in this juncture. So Ppt designs for Templeoag,

(what a name is that!) Whereabouts is that place? I hope not very far from ——. Higgins is here, roaring that all is wrong in Ireland, and would have me get him an audience of lord-treasurer to tell him so; but I will have nothing to do in it, no, not I, faith. We have had no thunder till last night, and till then we were dead for want of rain; but there fell a great deal: no field looked green. I reckon the queen will go to Windsor in three or four weeks: and if the secretary takes a house there, I shall be sometimes with him. But how affectedly Ppt talks of my being here all the summer; which I do not intend: nor to stay one minute longer in England than becomes the circumstances I am in. I wish you would go soon into the country, and take a good deal of it; and where better than Trim? Joe will be your humble servant, Parvisol your slave, and Raymond at your command, for he piques himself on good manners. I have seen Dilly's wife—and I have seen once or twice old Bradley here. He is very well, very old, and very wise: I believe I must go see his wife, when I have leisure. I should be glad to see Goody Stoyte and her husband; pray give them my humble service, and to Catherine, and to Mrs Walls—I cannot be the least bit in love with Mrs Walls—I suppose the cares of the husband increase with the fruitfulness of the wife. I am glad at heart to hear of Ppt's good health: please to let her finish it by drinking waters. I hope DD had her bill, and has her money. Remember to write a due time before the money is wanted, and be good girls, good *dallars*, I mean, and no crying *dallars*. I heard somebody coming up stairs, and forgot I was in the country; and I was afraid of a visitor; that is one advantage of being here, that I am not teased with solicitors. Molt, the chemist, is my ac-

quaintance. My service to Dr Smith. I sent the question to him about Sir Walter Raleigh's cordial, and the answer he returned is in these words: "It is directly after Mr Boyle's receipt." That commission is performed; if he wants any of it, Molt shall use him fairly. I suppose Smith is one of your physicians. So, now your letter is fully and impartially answered; not as rascals answer me: I believe, if I writ an essay upon a straw, I should have a shoal of answerers: but no matter for that; you see I can answer without making any reflections, as becomes men of learning. Well but now for the peace: why we expect it daily; but the French have the stuff in their own hands, and we trust to their honesty. I wish it were otherwise. Things are now in the way of being soon in the extremes of well or ill.—I hope and believe the first. Lord Wharton is gone out of town in a rage, and curses himself and friends for ruining themselves in defending Lord Marlborough and Godolphin, and taking Nottingham into their favour. He swears he will meddle no more during this reign; a pretty speech at sixty-six, and the queen is near twenty years younger, and now in very good health; for you must know her health is fixed by a certain reason, that she has done with braces, (I must use the expression,) and nothing ill is happened to her since; so she has a new lease of her life. Read *The Letter to a Whig Lord*. Do you ever read? Why don't you say so? I mean does DD read to Ppt? Do you walk? I think Ppt should walk to DD, as DD reads to Ppt, for Ppt you must know is a good walker; but not so good as Pdfr. I intend to dine to-day with Mr Lewis: but it threatens rain; and I shall be too late to get a lift; and I must write to the Bishop of Clogher. It is now ten in the morning; and

this is all writ at a heat. Farewell, dearest MD, FW,
Me, &c.

LETTER XLIX.

Kensington, July 1, 1712.

I NEVER was in a worse station for writing letters than this ; for I go to town early ; and when I come home at night, I generally go to Lord Masham's, where lord-treasurer comes, and we stay till past twelve, but I am now resolved to write journals again, though my shoulder is not yet well ; for I have still a few itching pimples, and a little pain now and then. It is now high cherry time with us ; take notice, is it so soon with you ? And we have early apricots ; and gooseberries are ripe. On Sunday, Archdeacon Parnell * came here to see me. It seems he has been ill for grief of his wife's death, and has been two months at Bath. He has a mind to go to Dunkirk with Jack Hill, and I persuade him to it, and have spoke to Hill to receive him ; but I doubt he won't have spirit to go. I have made Ford † gazetteer, and got two hundred pounds-a-year settled on the employment by the secretaries of state, beside the perquisites. It is the prettiest employment in England of its bigness ; yet the puppy does not seem satisfied with it.

* This amiable man, and elegant poet, was at this time Archdeacon of Clogher, to which he was preferred by the bishop, so often mentioned in the course of this Journal.

† Charles Ford, Esq. a great friend of the dean.

I think people keep some follies to themselves, till they have occasion to produce them. He thinks it not genteel enough, and makes twenty difficulties. It is impossible to make any man easy. His salary is paid him every week, if he pleases, without taxes or abatements. He has little to do for it. He has a pretty office, with coals, candles, papers, &c.; can frank what letters he will; and his perquisites, if he takes care, may be worth one hundred pounds more. I hear the Bishop of Clogher is landing, or landed, in England; and I hope to see him in a few days. I was to see Mrs Bradley on Sunday night. Her youngest son is to marry somebody worth nothing, and her daughter was forced to leave Lady Giffard, because she was striking up an intrigue with a footman, who played well on the flute. This is the mother's account of it. Yesterday the old Bishop of Worcester, who pretends to be a prophet, went to the queen, by appointment, to prove to her majesty, out of Daniel and the Revelation, that four years hence there would be a war of religion; that the King of France would be a Protestant, and fight on their side; that the Popedom would be destroyed, &c.; and declared, that he would be content to give up his bishopric if it were not true.* Lord-treasurer, who told

* Dr William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, was a man of great learning, and author of a "History of the Government of the Church," a "Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras," and many tracts against Popery. For Popery, indeed, he had an ancient and irreconcilable hatred and terror; having preached that funeral sermon upon the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, two able-bodied divines attending as a guard to his person in the pulpit, lest before all the congregation he should be murdered by the Papists. His chronological studies led him to write a com-

it me, was by, and some others; and I am told lord-treasurer confounded him sadly in his own learning, which made the old fool very quarrelsome. He is near ninety years old.* Old Bradley is fat and lusty, and has lost his palsy. Have you seen Toland's Invitation to Dismal? How do you like it? But it is in imitation of Horace, and perhaps you do not understand Horace. Here has been a great sweep of employments, and we expect still more removals. The court seems resolved to make thorough work. Mr Hill intended to set out to-morrow for Dunkirk, of which he is appointed governor; but he tells me to-day that he cannot go till Thursday or Friday. I wish it were over. Mr Se-

mentary on the Revelation, the result of which, and perhaps some confidence in the force of his own controversial tracts, led him, it seems, to hope for the conversion of the King of France from the errors of Rome. The bishop is thus described in a poem called "Faction Displayed:"

" Then old Mysterio shook his silver hairs,
 Loaded with learning, prophecy, and years,
 Whom factious zeal to fierce unchristian strife
 Had hurried in the last extreme of life.
 Strange dotage! thus to sacrifice his ease,
 When nature whispers men to crown their days
 With sweet retirement, and religious peace!
 Fore-knowledge struggled in his heaving breast,
 Ere he in these dark terms his fears exprest.
 The stars roll adverse, and malignant shine,
 Some dire portent! some comet I divine!
 I plainly in the Revelations find,
 That Anna to the Beast will be inclined.
 Howe'er, though she and all her senate frown,
 I'll wage eternal war with Packington,
 And venture life and fame to pull him down.

* The Earl of Nottingham. Old as he was, he outlived the space he had fixed for the great events which he foretold, and died at the age of ninety-one in 1717.

cretary tells me, he is in no fear at all that France will play tricks with us. If we have Dunkirk once, all is safe. We rail now all against the Dutch, who, indeed, have acted like knaves, fools, and madmen. Mr Secretary is soon to be made a viscount. He desired I would draw the preamble of his patent; but I excused myself from a work that might lose me a great deal of reputation, and get me very little. We would fain have the court make him an earl, but it will not be; and therefore he will not take the title of Bolingbroke, which is lately extinct in the elder branch of his family. I have advised him to be called Lord Pomfret; but he thinks that title is already in some other family; and, besides, he objects that it is in Yorkshire, where he has no estate; but there is nothing in that, and I love Pomfret. Don't you love Pomfret? Why? 'Tis in all our histories; they are full of Pomfret Castle. But what's all this to you? You don't care for this? Is Goody Stoyte come to London? I have not heard of her yet. The Dean of St Patrick's never had the manners to answer my letter. I was the other day to see Sterne and his wife. She is not half so handsome as when I saw her with you at Dublin. They design to pass the summer at a house near Lord Somers's, about a dozen miles off. You never told me how my "Letter to Lord-Treasurer" passes in Ireland. I suppose you are drinking at this time Temple something waters. Steele was arrested the other day for making a lottery directly against an act of parliament. He is now under prosecution; but they think it will be dropped out of pity. I believe he will very soon lose his employment, for he has been mighty impertinent of late in his Spectators; and I will never offer a word in his behalf. Raymond writes me word,

that the Bishop of Meath* was going to summon me, in order to suspension, for absence, if the provost had not prevented him. I am prettily rewarded for getting them their first fruits with a p—. We have had very little hot weather during the whole month of June; and for a week past we have had a great deal of rain, though not every day. I am just now told, that the governor of Dunkirk has not orders yet to deliver up the town to Jack Hill and his forces, but expects them daily. This must put off Hill's journey a while, and I don't like these stoppings in such an affair. Go, get you gone, and drink your waters, if this rain has not spoiled them, saucy doxy. I have no more to say to you at present; but love Pdfr, and MD, and Me. And Pdfr will love Pdfr, and MD, and Me. I wish you had taken an account when I sent money to Mrs Brent. I believe I have not done it a great while. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, &c.

LETTER L.

Kensington, July 17, 1712.

I AM weary of living in this place, and glad to leave it soon. The queen goes on Tuesday to Windsor, and I shall follow in three or four days after. I can do nothing here, going early to London, and coming late from it, and supping at Lady Masham's. I dined to-day with the Duke of Argyle at Kew, and would not go to

* Dr William Moreton, 1705—1715.

the court to-night, because of writing to MD. The Bishop of Clogher has been here this fortnight : I see him as often as I can. Poor Master Ashe has a bad redness in his face ; it is St Anthony's fire ; his face all swelled, and will break out in his cheek, but no danger. Since Dunkirk has been in our hands, Grub Street has been very fruitful. Pdfr has writ five or six Grub Street papers this last week. Have you seen " Toland's Invitation to *Dismal*," or " Hue and Cry after *Dismal*," or " Ballad on Dunkirk," or " Agreement that *Dunkirk* is not in our Hands ?" Poh ! you have seen nothing. I am dead here with the hot weather ; yet I walk every night home, and believe it does me good : but my shoulder is not yet right ; itchings, and scratchings, and small achings. Did I tell you I have made Ford gazetteer, with two hundred pounds a-year salary, beside perquisites ? I had a letter lately from Parvisol, who says my canal looks very finely ; I long to see it ; but no apples ; all blasted again. He tells me there will be a septennial visitation in August. I must send Raymond another proxy. So now I will answer your letter, No. 30, date June 17. Ppt writes as well as ever, for all her waters. I wish I had never come here, as often and as heartily as Ppt. What had I to do here ? I can assure you the Bishop of Clogher's being here does not in the least affect my staying or going. I have heard of the bishop's making me uneasy, but I did not think it was, because I never wrote to him. A little would make me write to him, but I don't know what to say. I find I am obliged to the provost for keeping the bishop from being impertinent. Yes, Mrs DD, but you would not be content with letters from Pdfr of six lines, or twelve either, faith. I hope Ppt will have done with the waters soon,

and find benefit by them. I believe, if they were as far off as Wexford, they would do as much good ; for I take the journey to contribute as much as any thing. I can assure you, the Bishop of Clogher's being here does not in the least affect my staying or going. I never talked to Higgins but once in my life in the street, and I believe he and I shall hardly meet but by chance. What care I whether my Letter to Lord-Treasurer be commended there or not ? Why does not somebody among you answer it, as three or four have done here ? (I am now sitting with nothing but my bedgown, for heat.) Ppt shall have a great Bible, and DD shall be repaid her other book ; but patience ; all in good time : you are so hasty, a dog, would, &c. So Ppt has neither won nor lost. Why, mun, I play sometimes too at picket ; that is picquett, I mean ; but very seldom.—Out late ? why, it is only at Lady Masham's, and that is in our town ; but I never come late here from London, except once in rain, when I could not get a coach. We have had very little thunder here ; none these two months. Why, pray, madam philosopher, how did the rain hinder the thunder from doing any harm ? I suppose it *squenched* it. So here comes Ppt again with her little watery postscript. You bold drunken slut you ! drink Pdfr's health ten times in a morning ! you are a whetter, faith. I sup MD's fifteen times every morning in milk porridge. There's for you now—and there's for your letter, and every kind of thing—and now I must say something else. You hear Secretary St John is made Viscount Bolingbroke. I could hardly persuade him to take that title, because the eldest branch of his family had it in an earldom, and it was last year extinct. If he did not take it, I advised him to be Lord Pomfret, which I

think is a noble title. You hear of it often in the Chronicles, Pomfret Castle : but we believed it was among the titles of some other lord. Jack Hill sent his sister a pattern of a head-dress from Dunkirk ; it was like our fashion twenty years ago, only not quite so high, * and looks very ugly. I have made Trap chaplain to Lord Bolingbroke, and he is mighty happy and thankful for it. Mr Addison returned me my visit this morning. He lives in our town. I shall be mighty retired, and mighty busy for a while at Windsor. Pray why don't MD go to Trim, and see Laracor, and give me an account of the garden, and the river, and the holly and the cherry trees on the river walk ?

19. I could not send this letter last post, being called away before I could finish it. I dined yesterday with lord-treasurer ; sat with him till ten at night ; yet could not find a minute for some business I had with him. He brought me to Kensington, and Lord Bolingbroke would not let me go away till two ; and I am now in bed, very lazy and sleepy at nine. I must shave head and face, and meet Lord Bolingbroke at eleven, and dine again with lord-treasurer. To-day there will be

* The SPECTATOR, about this time, has the same remarks on the old head-dress, which was called a *Fontange*.

“ There is not so variable a thing in nature as a lady's head-dress. Within my own memory, I have known it rise and fall above thirty degrees. About ten years ago it shot up to a very great height, insomuch, that the female part of our species were much taller than the men. The women were of such an enormous stature, that we appeared as grasshoppers before them. At present the whole sex is in a manner dwarfed, and shrunk into a race of beauties that seems almost another species. I remember several ladies who were once very near seven foot high, that at present want some inches of five.”—*Spectator*, No. 98.

another *Grub*, “*A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord.*” * *Grub Street* has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half sheet at a halfpenny. We have news just come, but not the particulars, that the Earl of Albemarle, at the head of eight thousand Dutch, is beaten, lost the greatest part of his men, and himself made a prisoner. † This perhaps may cool their courage, and make them think of a peace. The Duke of Ormond has got abundance of credit by his good conduct of affairs in Flanders. We had a good deal of rain last night, very refreshing. It is late, and I must rise. Don’t play at ombre in your waters, sirrah. Farewell, dearest MD.

LETTER LI.

London, Aug. 7, ‡ 1712.

I RECEIVED your N. 32 at Windsor: I just read it, and immediately sealed it up again, and shall read it no more this twelvemonth at least. The reason of my re-

* “Some Reasons to prove that no Person is obliged by his Principles, as a Whig, to oppose her Majesty or the present Ministry. In a Letter to a Whig Lord.”

† The confederates were much weakened by the separation of the British forces, who went under the Duke of Ormond to take possession of Dunkirk. Marshal Villars attacked their camp at Denain, defeated them with slaughter, and made the Earl of Albemarle and many officers of distinction prisoners.

‡ At first written “Aug. 17,” with this note, “*Pedefar* was mistaken.”

sentment is, because you talk as glibly of a thing as if it were done, which, for aught I know, is farther from being done than ever, since I hear not a word of it, though the town is full of it, and the court always giving me joy and vexation. You might be sure I would have let you known as soon as it was done ; but I believe you fancied I would not affect to tell it you, but let you learn it from newspapers and reports. Remember only there was something in your letter about Me's money ; and that shall be taken care of. I left Windsor on Monday last, upon Lord Bolingbroke's being gone to France ; and somebody's being here that I ought often to consult with in an affair I am upon : but that person talks of returning to Windsor again, and I shall follow him. I am now in a hedge lodging very busy, as I am every day till noon : so that this letter is like to be short, and you are not to blame me these two months ; for I protest, if I study ever so hard, I cannot in that time compass what I am upon. We have a fever both here and at Windsor, which hardly any body misses ; but it lasts not above three or four days, and kills nobody. The queen has forty servants down in it at once. I dined yesterday with lord-treasurer, but could do no business, though he sent for me I thought on purpose ; but he desires I will dine with him again to-day. Windsor is a most delightful place, and in this time abounds in dinners. My lodgings look upon Eton and the Thames. I wish I was owner of them ; they belong to a prebend. God knows what was in your letter ; and if it be not answered, whose fault is it, saucy dallars ? Do you know that Grub Street is dead and gone last week ? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it pretty close the last fortnight, and published at least seven

penny papers of my own, besides some of other people's : but now every single half sheet pays a halfpenny to the queen. The *Observer* is fallen ; the *Medleys* are jumbled together with the *Flying Post* ; the *Examiner* is deadly sick ; the *Spectator* keeps up, and doubles its price ; I know not how long it will hold. Have you seen the red stamp the papers are marked with ? Methinks the stamping it is worth a halfpenny. Lord *Bolingbroke* and *Prior* set out for France last Saturday. My lord's business is to hasten the peace before the Dutch are too much mauled, and hinder France from carrying the jest of beating them too far. Have you seen the fourth part of *John Bull* ? It is equal to the rest, and extremely good. The *Bishop of Clogher's* son has been ill of *St Anthony's* fire, but is now quite well. I was afraid his face would be spoiled, but it is not. *Dilly* is just as he used to be, and puns as plentifully and as bad. The two brothers see one another ; and I think not the two sisters. *Raymond* wrote to me that he intended to invite you to *Trim*. Are you, have you, will you be there ? Won't you see poor *Laracor* ? *Parvisol* says I shall have no fruit. Blasts have taken away all. Pray observe the cherry trees in the river walk ; but you are too lazy to take such a journey. If you have not your letters in due time for two months hence, impute it to my being tosticated between this and *Windsor*. Poor Lord *Winchelsea* is dead, to my great grief. He was a worthy honest gentleman, and particular friend of mine : and, what is yet worse, my old acquaintance, *Mrs Finch*, is now *Countess of Winchelsea*, the title being fallen to her husband, but without much estate. I have been poring my eyes all this morning, and it is now past two afternoon, so I shall take a little walk in the *Park*. Do you

play at ombre still? Or is that off by Mr Stoyte's absence, and Mrs Manley's grief? Somebody was telling me of a strange sister that Mrs Manley has got in Ireland, who disappointed you all about her being handsome. My service to Mrs Walls. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me. Lele, rogues both; love poor Pdfr.

LETTER LII.

Windsor, Sept. 15, 1712.*

I NEVER was so long without writing to MD as now since I left them, nor ever will again while I am able to write. I have expected from one week to another that something would be done in my own affairs; but nothing at all is, nor I don't know when any thing will, or whether any at all, so slow are people at doing favours. I have been much out of order of late with the old giddiness in my head. I took a vomit for it two days ago, and will take another about a day or two hence. I have eat mighty little fruit; yet I impute my disorder to that little, and shall henceforth wholly forbear it. I am engaged in a long work, and have done all I can of it, and wait for some papers from the ministry for materials for the rest; and they delay me, as if it were a favour I asked of them; so that I have been idle here this good while, and it happened in a right time, when I was too much out of order to study. One is kept constantly out of humour by a thousand unaccountable things in public

* Endorsed, "Received Oct. 1, at Portraîne."

proceedings; and when I reason with some friends, we cannot conceive how affairs can last as they are. God only knows, but it is a very melancholy subject for those who have any near concern in it. I am again endeavouring, as I was last year, to keep people from breaking to pieces upon a hundred misunderstandings. One cannot withhold them from drawing different ways, while the enemy is watching to destroy both. See how my style is altered, by living and thinking and talking among these people, instead of my canal and river, walk and willows. I lose all my money here among the ladies; so that I never play when I can help it, being sure to lose. I have lost five pounds the five weeks I have been here. I hope Ppt is luckier at picquet with the dean and Mrs Walls. The dean never answered my letter, and I have clearly forgot whether I sent a bill for Me in any of my last letters. I think I did; pray let me know, and always give me timely notice. I wait here but to see what they will do for me; and whenever preferments are given from me, as *** said, I will come over.

18. I have taken a vomit to-day, and hope I shall be better. I have been very giddy since I wrote what is before, yet not as I used to be: more frequent, but not so violent. Yesterday we were alarmed with the queen's being ill: she had an aguish and feverish fit; and you never saw such countenances as we all had, such dismal melancholy. Her physicians from town were sent for; but toward night she grew better, to-day she missed her fit, and was up: we are not now in any fear; it will be at worst but an ague, and we hope even that will not return. Lord-treasurer would not come here from London, because it would make a noise, if he came before his usual time, which is Saturday, and he goes away on

Mondays. The Whigs have lost a great support in the Earl of Godolphin.* It is a good jest to hear the ministers talk of him with humanity and pity, because he is dead, and can do them no more hurt. Lady Orkney, † the late king's mistress, (who lives at a fine place, five miles from hence, called Clifden,) and I, are grown mighty acquaintance. She is the wisest woman I ever saw; and lord-treasurer made great use of her advice in the late change of affairs. I heard Lord Marlborough is growing ill of his *diabetes*; which, if it be true, may soon carry him off; and then the ministry will be something more at ease. MD has been a long time without writing to Pdfr, though they have not the same cause: it is seven weeks since your last came to my hands, which was N. 32, that you may not be mistaken. I hope Ppt has not wanted her health. You were then drinking waters. The doctor tells me I must go into a course of *steel*, though I have not the spleen; for that they can never give me, though I have as much provocation to it as any man alive. Bernage's regiment is broke; but he is upon half-pay. I have not seen him this long time; but I suppose he is overrun with melancholy. My Lord Shrewsbury is certainly designed to be Governor of Ireland; and I believe the Duchess will please the people there mightily. The Irish Whig leaders promise great things to themselves from this government: but great care shall be taken, if possible, to

* He died September 15, 1712.

† Lady Elizabeth Villiers, on whom King William settled an estate in Ireland, worth L. 25,995 a-year. Archbishop King, in a letter to Swift, (which, like many others, probably was not very acceptable,) hints his hopes, that this donation might be recalled.

prevent them. Mrs Fenton has writ to me, that she has been forced to leave Lady Giffard, and come to town, for a rheumatism: that lady does not love to be troubled with sick people. Mrs Fenton writes to me as one dying, and desires I would think of her son: I have not answered her letter. She is retired to Mrs Povey's. Is my aunt alive yet? and do you ever see her? I suppose she has forgot the loss of her son. Is Raymond's new house quite finished? and does he squander as he used to do? Has he yet spent all his wife's fortune? I hear there are five or six people putting strongly in for my livings; God help them! But if ever the court should give me any thing, I would recommend Raymond to the Duke of Ormond; not for any particular friendship to him, but because it would be proper for the minister of Trim to have Laracor. You may keep the gold studded snuff-box now; for my brother Hill, Governor of Dunkirk, has sent me the finest that ever you saw. It is allowed at court that none in England comes near it, though it did not cost above twenty pounds.* And the Duchess of Hamilton has made me

* See Swift's letter of thanks, dated 12th August, 1712, which has the following jest upon the device at the bottom of the box:—
 " My lord-treasurer, who is the most malicious person in the world, says, you ordered a goose to be drawn at the bottom of my box, as a reflection upon the clergy, and that I should resent it. But I am not angry at all, and as his lordship observes by halves; for the goose there is drawn pecking at a snail, just as I do at him, to make him mend his pace in relation to the public, although it be hitherto in vain. And, besides, Dr Arbuthnot, who is a scholar, says ' You meant it as a compliment for us both: that I am the goose who saved the Capitol by my cackling; and that his lordship is represented by the snail, because he preserves his country by delays.' "

a pocket for it, like a woman's, with a belt and buckle, (for, you know, I wear no waistcoat in summer,) and there are several divisions, and one on purpose for my box, oh, ho!—We have had most delightful weather this whole week; but illness and vomiting have hindered me from sharing in a great part of it. Lady Masham made the queen send to Kensington for some of her preserved ginger for me, which I take in the morning, and hope it will do me good. Mrs Brent sent me a letter by a young fellow, a printer, desiring I would recommend him here, which you may tell her I have done: but I cannot promise what will come of it, for it is necessary they should be made free here before they can be employed. I remember I put the boy apprentice to Brent. I hope Parvisol has set my tithes well this year; he has writ nothing to me about it; pray talk to him of it when you see him, and let him give me an account how things are. I suppose the corn is now off the ground. I hope he has sold that great ugly horse. Why don't you talk to him? He keeps me at charges for horses that I never ride: yours is large, and will never be good for any thing. The queen will stay here about a month longer I suppose; but Lady Masham will go in ten days to lie in at Kensington. Poor creature, she fell down in the court here the other day. She would needs walk across it upon some displeasure with her chairmen, and was likely to be spoiled so near her time; but we hope all is over for a black eye and a sore side: though I shall not be at ease till she is brought to bed. I find I can fill up a letter, some way or other, without a journal. If I had not a spirit naturally cheerful, I should be very much discontented at a thousand things. Pray God preserve MD's health,

and Pdfr's, and that I may live free from the envy and discontent that attends those who are thought to have more favour at court than they really possess. Love Pdfr, who loves MD above all things. Farewell, dearest, ten thousand times dearest, MD, FW, Me. Lele.

LETTER LIII.

London, Oct. 9, 1712.*

I HAVE left Windsor these ten days, and am deep in pills with asafetida, and a steel bitter drink; and I find my head much better than it was. I was very much discouraged; for I used to be ill for three or four days together, ready to totter as I walked. I take eight pills a-day, and have taken, I believe, a hundred and fifty already. The queen, lord-treasurer, Lady Masham, and I, were all ill together, but are now all better; only Lady Masham expects every day to lie in at Kensington. There never was such a lump of lies spread about the town together as now. I doubt not but you will have them in Dublin before this comes to you, and all without the least ground of truth. I have been mightily put back in something I am writing by my illness, but hope to fetch it up, so as to be ready when the Parliament meets. Lord-treasurer has had an ugly fit of the rheumatism, but is now near quite well. I was playing at *one-and-thirty* with him and his family the other night. He gave us all twelvecence apiece to be-

* Endorsed, "Received Oct. 18, at Portraine."

gin with : it put me in mind of Sir William Temple.* I asked both him and Lady Masham seriously, whether the queen were at all inclined to a dropsy? And they positively assured me she was not : so did her physician Arbuthnot, who always attends her. Yet these devils have spread, that she has holes in her legs, and runs at her navel, and I know not what. Arbuthnot has sent me from Windsor a pretty Discourse upon Lying, and I have ordered the printer to come for it. It is a proposal for publishing a curious piece, called *The Art of Political Lying*, in two volumes, &c. And then there is an abstract of the first volume, just like those pamphlets which they call “*The Works of the Learned.*”† Pray get it when it comes out. The queen has a little of the gout in one of her hands. I believe she will stay a month still at Windsor. Lord-treasurer showed me the kindest letter from her in the world, by which I picked out one secret, that there will be soon made some Knights of the Garter. You know another is fallen by Lord Godolphin’s death : he will be buried in a day or two at Westminster Abbey. I saw Tom Leigh in town once. The Bishop of Clogher has taken his lodging for the winter ; they are all well. I hear there are in town abundance of people from Ireland ; half-a-dozen bishops at least. The poor old Bishop of London, ‡ at past

* Sir William Temple’s stingy patronage seems to have justified this sarcasm.

† Reviews of publications were published under this title.

‡ Dr Henry Compton, translated to that see from the Bishopric of Oxford, in 1675. He had been a soldier for Charles I. in his youth, and at the time of the Revolution reassumed the sword, and took command of the troop of volunteers that escorted the Princess Anne to Nottingham.

fourscore, fell down backward going up stairs, and I think broke or cracked his skull ; yet is now recovering. The town is as empty as at midsummer ; and if I had not occasion for physic, I would be at Windsor still. Did I tell you of Lord Rivers's will ? He has left legacies to about twenty paltry old whores by name, and not a farthing to any friend, dependent, or relation : he has left from his only child, Lady Barrymore, * her mother's estate, and given the whole to his heir-male, a popish priest, a second cousin, who is now Earl Rivers, † and whom he used in his life like a footman. After him it goes to his chief wench and bastard. Lord-treasurer and Lord-chamberlain are executors of this hopeful will. I loved the man, but detest his memory. We hear nothing of peace yet : I believe verily the Dutch are so wilful, because they are told the queen cannot live. I had poor MD's letter, N. 32, at Windsor : but I could not answer it then ; Pdfr was very sick then : and, besides, it was a very inconvenient place to write letters from. You "thought to come home the same day, and staid a month : " that was a sign the place was agreeable. I should love such a sort of jaunt. Is that lad Swanton a little more fixed than he used to be ? I think you like the girl very well. She has left off her grave airs, I suppose. I am now told Lord Godolphin was buried last night.—O poor Ppt !**** I believe I escaped the

* Lady Elizabeth, married to James, the fourth Earl of Barrymore. She had one daughter, Lady Penelope, who was married to General Cholmondeley.

† William Savage, son of Richard, third son of the first Earl of that name. Being a popish priest, he died unmarried, and the title became extinct.

new fever, for the same reason that Ppt did, because I am not well ; but why should DD escape it, pray ? She is *melthigal*, you know, and ought to have the fever ; but I hope it is now too late, and she won't have it at all. Some physicians here talk very melancholy, and think it foreruns the plague, which is actually at Ham-
burgh. I hoped Ppt would have done with her illness ; but I think we both have the faculty never to part with a disorder for ever ; we are very constant. I have had my giddiness twenty-three years by fits. Will Mrs Raymond never have done lying-in ? He intends to leave beggars enough ; for I dare say he has squandered away the best part of his fortune already, and is not out of debt. I had a letter from him lately.

October 11. Lord-treasurer sent for me yesterday and the day before to sit with him, because he is not yet quite well enough to go abroad ; and I could not finish my letter. How the deuce come I to be so exact in your money ? Just seventeen shillings and eightpence more than due ; I believe you cheat me. Ppt* makes a petition with many apologies. John Danvers, you know, is Lady Giffard's friend. The rest I never heard of. I tell you what, as things are at present, I cannot possibly speak to lord-treasurer for any body. I need tell you no more. Something or nothing will be done in my own affairs ; if the former, I will be a solicitor for your sister ; if the latter, I have done with courts for ever. Opportunities will often fall in my way, if I am used well, and I will then make it my business. It is my delight to do good offices for people who want and deserve it, and a tenfold delight to do it to a relation of

* Ppt is Mrs Johnson.

Ppt, whose affairs Pdfr has so at heart. I have taken down his name and his case, (not *her* case;) and whenever a proper time comes, I will do all I can: that is enough to say when I can do no more; and I beg your pardon a thousand times, that I cannot do better. I hope the Dean of St Patrick's is well of his fever: he has never wrote to me: I am glad of it; pray don't desire him to write.* I have dated your bill late, because it must not commence, young women, till the first of November next. O, faith, I must be *ise*; yes, faith, must I; else we shall cheat Pdfr. Are you good housewives and readers? Are you walkers? I know you are gamesters. Are you drinkers? Are you——hold, I must go no farther, for fear of abusing fine ladies. Parvisol has not sent me one word how he set this year's tithes. Pray, ask whether tithes set well or ill this year. Bishop of Killaloe tells me wool bears a good rate in Ireland: but how is corn? † I dined yesterday with Lady Orkney, and we sat alone from two till eleven at night.—You have heard of her, I suppose. I have twenty letters upon my hands, and am so lazy and so busy, I cannot answer them, and they grow upon me for several months. Have I any apples at Laracor? It is strange every year should blast them, when I took so much care for shelter. Lord Bolingbroke has been idle at his country house this fortnight, which puts me backward in business I have. I am got into an ordinary room two pair of stairs, and see nobody, if I can help it; yet some puppies have found me out, and my man is not such an art-

* Dean Sterne, with whom Swift was on cold terms.

† On the price of which the value of the Doctor's tithes depended.

ist as Patrick at denying me. Patrick has been soliciting to come to me again, but in vain. The printer has been here with some of the new whims printed, and has taken up my time. I am just going out, and can only bid you farewell. Farewell, dearest little MD, &c.

LETTER LIV.

London, Oct. 28, 1712.

I HAVE been in physic this month, and have been better these three weeks. I stop my physic, by the doctor's orders, till he sends me further directions. DD grows politician, and longs to hear the peace is proclaimed. I hope we shall have it soon, for the Dutch are fully humbled; and Prior is just come over from France for a few days; I suppose upon some important affair. I saw him last night, but had no private talk with him. Stocks rise upon his coming. As for my stay in England, it cannot be long now, so tell my friends. The Parliament will not meet till after Christmas, and by that time the work I am doing will be over, and then nothing shall keep me. I am very much discontented at Parvisol, about neglecting to sell my horses, &c.

Lady Masham is not yet brought to-bed; but we expect it daily. I dined with her to-day. Lord Bolingbroke returned about two months ago, and Prior about a week; and goes back (Prior I mean) in a few days. Who told you of my snuff-box and pocket? Did I? I had a letter to-day from Dr Coghill, desiring me to get Raphoe for Dean Sterne, and the deanery for myself. I

shall indeed, I have such obligations to Sterne. But however, if I am asked who will make a good bishop, I shall name him before any body. Then comes another letter, desiring I would recommend a provost, supposing that Pratt (who has been here about a week) will certainly be promoted ; but I believe he will not. I presented Pratt to lord-treasurer, and truly young Molyneux would have had me present him too ; but I directly answered him I would not, unless he had business with him. He is the son of one Mr Molyneux of Ireland. His father wrote a book ; * I suppose you know it. Here is the Duke of Marlborough going out of England, (Lord knows why,) which causes many speculations. † Some say he is conscious of guilt, and dare not stand it. Others think he has a mind to fling an odium on the government, as who should say, that one, who has done such great services to his country, cannot live quietly in it, by reason of the malice of his enemies. I have helped to patch up these people together once more. God knows how long it may last. I was to-day at a trial between Lord Lansdown and Lord Carteret, two friends of mine. It was in the Queen's Bench, for about six thousand a-year, (or nine I think.) I sat under Lord Chief Justice Parker, and his pen falling down I reached it up. He made me a low bow ; and I was going to whisper him, that *I had done good for evil ; for he would have taken mine from me.* ‡ I told it lord-treasurer and Bo-

* The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated, 8vo. 1698.

† He went abroad in November 1712, and remained on the Continent till a short time before Queen Anne's death.

‡ Lord Chief Justice Parker, upon the prospect of the Whigs

lingbroke. Parker would not have known me, if several lords on the bench, and in the court, bowing, had not turned every body's eyes, and set them a whispering. I owe the dog a spite, and will pay him in two months at farthest, if I can. So much for that. But you must have chat, and I must say every sorry thing that comes into my head. They say the queen will stay a month longer at Windsor. These devils of Grub Street rogues, that write the Flying Post and Medley in one paper, will not be quiet. They are always mauling lord-treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and me. We have the dog under prosecution, but Bolingbroke is not active enough; but I hope to swinge him. He is a Scotch rogue, one Ridpath.* They get out upon bail, and write on. We take them again, and get fresh bail; so it goes round.† They say some learned Dutchman has wrote a book, proving by civil law, that we do them wrong by this peace; but I shall show, by plain reason, that we have suffered the wrong, and not they. I toil like a horse, and have hundreds of letters still to read: and squeeze a line out of each, or at least the seeds of a line. Straf-

returning to power in the end of the preceding year, sent for Morphew, the publisher of the Conduct of the Allies, threatened him, demanded the name of the author, and bound him over to appear next term. See Journal, 13 December 1711.

* Celebrated in the Dunciad with Abel Roper, a news-writer of the opposite faction often mentioned in this Journal.

There Redpath, Roper cudgell'd you might view,
The very worsted yet looked black and blue.

† From this and other passages it would seem, that Swift wanted the equanimity which became a disputant. He could not allow for, or despise, the virulence of the antagonists whom he had provoked, or defied.

ford goes back to Holland in a day or two, and I hope our peace is very near. I have about thirty pages more to write, (that is, to be extracted,) which will be sixty in print. It is the most troublesome part of all, and I cannot keep myself private, though I stole into a room up two pair of stairs, when I came from Windsor; but my present man has not yet learned his lesson of denying me discreetly.

30. The Duchess of Ormond found me out to-day, and made me dine with her. Lady Masham is still expecting. She has had a cruel cold. I could not finish my letter last post for the soul of me. Lord Bolingbroke has had my papers these six weeks, and done nothing to them. Is Tisdall yet in the world? I propose writing controversies, to get a name with posterity. The Duke of Ormond will not be over these three or four days. I design to make him join with me in settling all right among our people. I have ordered the Duchess to let me have an hour with the Duke at his first coming, to give him a true state of persons and things. I believe the Duke of Shrewsbury will hardly be declared your governor yet; at least, I think so now; but resolutions alter very often. Duke Hamilton gave me a pound of snuff to-day, admirable good. I wish DD had it, and Ppt too, if she likes it. It cost me a quarter of an hour of his politics, which I was forced to hear. Lady Orkney is making me a writing-table of her own contrivance, and a bed nightgown. She is perfectly kind, like a mother. I think the devil was in it the other day, that I should talk to her of an ugly squinting cousin of hers, and the poor lady herself, you know, squints like a dragon. The other day we had a long discourse with her about love; and she told us a

saying of her sister Fitzharding, which I thought excellent, that *in men, desire begets love, and in women, love begets desire*. We have abundance of our old criers still hereabouts. I hear every morning your women with the old satin and taffata, &c. the fellow with old coats, suits or cloaks. Our weather is abominable of late. We have not two tolerable days in twenty. I have lost money again at ombre, with Lord Orkney and others; yet, after all, this year I have lost but three-and-twenty shillings; so that, considering card money, I am no loser.

Our society hath not yet renewed their meetings. I hope we shall continue to do some good this winter; and lord-treasurer promises the academy for reforming our language shall soon go forward. I must now go hunt those dry letters for materials. You will see something very notable, I hope. So much for that. God Almighty bless you.

LETTER LV.

London, Nov. 15, 1712. *

BEFORE this comes to your hands, you will have heard of the most terrible accident that hath almost ever happened. This morning at eight, my man brought me word that Duke Hamilton had fought with Lord Mohun, and killed him, and was brought home wounded. I immediately sent him to the Duke's house, in St James's Square; but the porter could hardly answer for tears,

* Endorsed, "Received Nov. 26, just come from Portraine."

and a great rabble was about the house. In short, they fought at seven this morning. The dog Mohun was killed on the spot; and, while the duke was over him, Mohun shortened his sword, stabbed him in at the shoulder to the heart. The duke was helped toward the cake-house by the ring in Hyde Park, (where they fought,) and died on the grass, before he could reach the house; and was brought home in his coach by eight, while the poor duchess was asleep. Macartney, and one Hamilton, were the seconds, who fought likewise, and are both fled. I am told, that a footman of Lord Mohun's stabbed Duke Hamilton; and some say Macartney did so too.* Mohun gave the affront, and yet sent the challenge.† I am infinitely concerned for the poor duke, who was a frank, honest, good-natured man. I loved

* Various accounts were given of this affair. The quarrel seemed to be forced on the duke, but there is great room to doubt the prevailing report, that he received foul play. Both the report of the coroner's inquest, and the surgeon's examination, tend to prove, that he died by the wound received from Lord Mohun. And although Colonel Hamilton deposed, that as he went to raise the duke from the ground, he saw Macartney make a thrust at him, yet, as he neither mentioned this at the time, nor endeavoured to detain Macartney, his testimony did not receive general credit. See Colonel Hamilton's trial in the State Trials. The Tories insisted, that this was a party duel; the Whigs, that it was entirely a private quarrel. It probably partook of the nature of both.

† At a meeting concerning a law-suit which had long depended between them, the duke, speaking of one of Lord Mohun's witnesses, said, "He had neither truth nor justice in him;" to which Lord Mohun replied, "He had as much truth and justice as his Grace." Now, although upon these words there might have been some ground for the duke challenging Mohun, it is certainly difficult to conceive why the challenge should have come as it did from the other side.

him very well, and I think he loved me better. He had the greatest mind in the world to have me go with him to France, but durst not tell it me; and those he did tell, said I could not be spared, which was true. * They have removed the poor duchess to a lodging in the neighbourhood, where I have been with her two hours, and am just come away. I never saw so melancholy a scene; for indeed all reasons for real grief belong to her; nor is it possible for any body to be a greater loser in all regards. She has moved my very soul. The lodging was inconvenient, and they would have removed her to another; but I would not suffer it, because it had no room backward, and she must have been tortured with the noise of the Grub Street screamers mentioning her husband's murder in her ears.

I believe you have heard the story of my escape, in opening the band-box sent to the lord-treasurer. † The

* The Duke of Hamilton was about to be sent ambassador to France; hence Parnell's beautiful lines on his death:

Half-peopled Gaul, whom num'rous ills destroy,
 With wishful heart attends the promised joy.
 For this prepares the Duke — ah, sadly slain!
 'Tis grief to name him when we mourn in vain;
 No warmth of verse repairs the vital flame,
 For verse can only grant a life in fame;
 Yet could my praise, like spicy odours shed,
 In everlasting song embalm the dead,
 To realms that weeping heard the loss I'd tell,
 What courage, sense, and faith, with Brandon fell!

Verses on the Peace.

† “ A report was spread of a strange conspiracy against the lord-treasurer, by sending him on that very day a band-box, with three pistols charged and cocked, whose triggers being tied to a pack-thread fastened to the cover, the pistols would have gone off, and done execution at the opening of the box, had not the same

prints have told a thousand lies of it; but at last we gave them a true account of it at length, printed in "The Evening;" only I would not suffer them to name me, having been so often named before, and teased to death with questions. I wonder how I came to have so much presence of mind, which is usually not my talent; but so it pleased God, and I saved myself and him; for there was a bullet-piece. A gentleman told me, that if I had been killed, the Whigs would have called it a judgment, because the barrels were of inkhorns, with which I had done them so much mischief. There was a pure Grub Street of it, full of lies and inconsistencies. I do not like these things at all, and I wish myself more and more among my willows. There is a devilish spirit among people, and the ministry must exert themselves, or sink. Night, dearest sirrahs, I'll go to sleep.

been miraculously prevented by Dr Jonathan Swift, who, being then in the room, while his lordship was shaving, suspected something, and opened the box in such a manner that no mischief was done. This was the first story that was whispered about; but the belief of such an extravagant plot was soon exploded, when it was found that the three pistols were no more than a steel set on a pistol-stock to strike fire, and two inkhorns or squibs; so that the lucky discoverer, Dr Swift, was by many suspected to have been the ingenious contriver of this political machine."—RAPIN'S *History of England*, IV. 297. It seems very difficult to understand this affair. To suppose it a trick of Swift, is not only utterly inconsistent with his character, but with common sense; for why should he not have placed real pistols in the box, since he was to open it with such precaution? yet it is not easy to conceive what the Whigs should have hoped from so imperfect an engine. Swift here calls the contents a bullet-piece, and a few pages below says, the fellow to the *pistol* was found in Hyde Park. Yet, at the same time, he mentions the barrels being made of inkhorn, meaning the iron cases used for holding ink and pens. Perhaps the contriver had chosen so ludicrous an implement, that the plot might be ridiculed, if it should prove unsuccessful.

16. I thought to have finished this yesterday ; but was too much disturbed. I sent a letter early this morning to Lady Masham, to beg her to write some comforting words to the poor duchess. I dined to-day with Lady Masham at Kensington, where she is expecting these two months to lie in. She has promised me to get the queen to write to the duchess kindly on this occasion ; and to-morrow I will beg lord-treasurer to visit and comfort her. I have been with her two hours again, and find her worse. Her violences not so frequent, but her melancholy more formal and settled. She has abundance of wit and spirit ; about thirty-three years old ; handsome and airy, and seldom spared any body that gave her the least provocation ; by which she had many enemies, and few friends. Lady Orkney, her sister-in-law, is come to town on this occasion, and has been to see her, and behaved herself with great humanity. They have been always very ill together, and the poor duchess could not have patience when people told her I went often to Lady Orkney's. But I am resolved to make them friends ; for the duchess is now no more the object of envy, and must learn humility from the severest master, Affliction. I design to make the ministry put out a proclamation (if it can be found proper) against that villain Macartney. What shall we do with these murderers ? I cannot end this letter to-night, and there is no occasion ; for I cannot send it till Tuesday, and the coroner's inquest on the duke's body is to be to-morrow. And I shall know more. But what care you for all this ? Yes, MD is sorry for Pdfr's friends ; and this is a very surprising event. 'Tis late, and I'll go to bed. This looks like journals. Night.

17. I was to-day at noon with the Duchess of Hamil-

ton again, after I had been with Lady Orkney, and charged her to be kind to her sister in affliction. The duchess told me Lady Orkney had been with her, and that she did not treat her as gently as she ought. They hate one another, but I will try to patch it up. I have been drawing up a paragraph for the Post-Boy, to be out to-morrow, and as malicious as possible, and very proper for Abel Roper, the printer of it. I dined at lord-treasurer's at six in the evening, which is his usual hour of returning from Windsor: he promised to visit the duchess to-morrow, and says he has a message to her from the queen. 'Tis late: I have staid till past one with him. So night, dearest MD.

18. The committee of council is to sit this afternoon upon the affair of Duke Hamilton's murder, and I hope a proclamation will be out against Macartney. I was just now ('tis now noon) with the duchess, to let her know lord-treasurer will see her. She is mightily indisposed. The jury have not yet brought in their verdict upon the coroner's inquest. We suspect Macartney stabbed the duke while he was fighting. The queen and lord-treasurer are in great concern at this event. I dine to-day again with lord-treasurer; but must send this to the post-office before, because else I shall not have time; he usually keeps me so late. Ben Tooke bid me write to DD to send her certificate, for it is high time it should be sent, he says. Pray make Parvisol write to me, and send me a general account of my affairs; and let him know I shall be over in spring, and that by all means he sells the horses. Prior has kissed the queen's hand, and will return to France in a few days, and Lord Strafford to Holland; and now the King of Spain has renounced his pretensions to France,

the peace must follow very soon unavoidably. You must no more call Philip, Duke of Anjou, for we now acknowledge him King of Spain. Dr Pratt tells me, you are all mad in Ireland with playhouse frolics and prologues, and I know not what. The Bishop of Clogher and his family are well : they have heard from you lately, or you from them, I have forgot which : I dined there the other day ; but the bishop came not till after dinner ; and our meat and drink was very so so. Mr Vedeau was with me yesterday, and inquired after you. He was a lieutenant, and is now broke, and upon half-pay. He asked me nothing for himself ; but wanted an employment for a friend, *who would give a handsome pair of gloves*. One Hales sent me up a letter the other day, which said you lodged in his house, and therefore desired I would get him a civil employment. I would not be within, and have directed my man to give him an answer, that I never open letters brought me by the writers, &c. I was complaining to a lady, that I wanted to mend an employment from forty to sixty pounds a-year, in the salt-office, and thought it hard I could not do it. She told me one Mr Griffin should do it. And afterward I met Griffin at her lodgings ; and he was, as I found, one I had been acquainted with. I named Filby to him, and his abode somewhere near Nantwich. He said frankly, he had formerly examined the man, and found he understood very little of his business ; but if he heard he mended, he would do what I desired. I will let it rest a while, and then resume it ; and if Ppt writes to Filby, she may advise him to diligence, &c. I told Griffin positively I would have it done, if the man mended. This is an account of Ppt's commission to her most humble servant Pdfr. I have a

world of writing to finish, and little time ; these toads of ministers are *so slow in their helps*. This makes me sometimes steal a week from the exactness I used to write to MD. Farewell, dearest little MD, &c. Smoke the folding of my letters of late.

LETTER LVI.

London, Dec. 12, 1712.

HERE is now a strange thing ; a letter from MD unanswered : never was before. I am slower, and MD is faster : but the last was owing to DD's certificate. Why could it not be sent before, pray now ? Is it so hard for DD to prove she is alive ? I protest solemnly I am not able to write to MD for other business, but I will renew my journal method next time. I find it is easier, though it contains nothing but where I dine, and the occurrences of the day. I will write now but once in three weeks till this business is off my hands, which must be in six, I think, at farthest. O ! Ppt, I remember your reprimanding me for meddling in other people's affairs : I have enough of it now, with a vengeance. Two women have been here six times a-piece ; I never saw them yet. The first I have dispatched with a letter ; the other I must see, and tell her I can do nothing for her : she is wife of one Mr Connor, an old college acquaintance, and comes on a foolish errand, for some old pretensions, that will succeed when I am lord-treasurer. I am got up two pair of stairs, in a private lodging, and have ordered all my friends not to discover

where I am ; yet every morning two or three sets are plaguing me, and my present servant has not yet his lesson perfect of denying me. I have written a hundred and thirty pages in folio, to be printed, and must write thirty more, which will make a large book of four shillings.* I wish I knew an opportunity of sending you some snuff. I will watch who goes to Ireland, and do it if possible. I had a letter from Parvisol, and find he has set my livings very low. Colonel Hamilton, who was second to Duke Hamilton, is tried to-day. I suppose he is come off, but have not heard. I dined with lord-treasurer, but left him by nine, and visited some people. Lady Betty, his daughter, will be married on Monday next (as I suppose) to the Marquis of Caermarthen. I did not know your country place had been Portraine, † till you told me so in your last. Has Swanton taken it of Wallis? That Wallis was a grave, wise coxcomb. God be thanked that Ppt is better of her disorders. God keep her so. The pamphlet of Political Lying is written by Dr Arbuthnot, the author of John Bull ; 'tis very pretty, but not so obvious to be understood. Higgins, first chaplain to Duke Hamilton? Why, Duke Hamilton never dreamt of a chaplain, nor I believe ever heard of Higgins. You are glorious newsmongers in Ireland—Dean Francis, Sir Richard Levinge, stuff: and Pratt, more stuff. We have lost our fine frost here ; and Abel Roper tells me you have had floods in Dublin ; ho, have you? Oh ho! Swanton seized Portraine, now I understand you. Ay, ay, now I see Portraine at the top of

* History of the Peace of Utrecht.

† Or Portrain, about seven miles from Dublin.

your letter. I never minded it before. Now to your second, N. 36. So, you read one of the Grub Streets about the band-box. The Whig papers have abused me about the band-box. God help me, what could I do? I fairly ventured my life. There is a particular account of it in the Post-Boy, and Evening Post of that day. Lord-treasurer has had the seal sent him that sealed the box, and directions where to find the other pistol in a tree in St James's Park, which Lord Bolingbroke's messenger found accordingly; but who sent the present is not yet known.* Duke Hamilton avoided the quarrel as

* The following ballad, which enumerates all the various charges of plots against the ministry, seems worthy of preservation. It enumerates first what was called the Screw-plot, being the withdrawing of certain screw-bolts from the timbers of St Paul's, from which was inferred an intention of destroying the queen and ministry, who were to attend service there on the thanksgiving-day. This proved to have arisen from the neglect of some of the work-people. The third stanza refers to the intended Pope-burning on Queen Elizabeth's night; and the fourth to the ravages of Mohocks, which the Tories, we have seen, interpreted as a thing devised by the enemy. Lastly, there was the Band-box plot, which, after all, seems either to have been the work of a madman, or designed for a jest. From considering these various alarms, the reader will probably be satisfied, that the æra of sham-plots did not conclude with the reign of Charles II., although in that of Queen Anne they were not driven to the same sanguinary conclusions.

Plot upon Plot.

To the Tune of—"Hey, Boys! Up go we."

O wicked Whigs! what can you mean?
 When will your plotting cease
 Against our most renowned queen,
 Her ministry, and peace?
 Your Protestant succession's safe,
 As our great men agree;
 Bourbon has Spain, the Tories laugh:
 Then hey, boys! Up go ye.

much as possible, according to the foppish rules of honour in practice. What signified your writing angry to Filby? I hope you said nothing of hearing any thing from

Some of your Matchi'villian crew
 From heavy roof of Paul,
 Most trait'rously stole ev'ry screw,
 To make that fabric fall :
 And so to catch her majesty,
 And all her friends beguile ;
 As birds are trapt by boys most sly,
 In pit-fall with a tile.

You for your bonfires mawkins dress'd
 On good Queen Bess's day,
 Whereby much treason was express'd,
 As all true churchmen say,
 Against the Devil and the Pope,
 The French, our new ally,
 And Perkin too, that youth of hope,
 In whom we all rely.

You sent your Mohocks next abroad,
 With razors arm'd, and knives ;
 Who on night-walkers made inroad,
 And scared our maids and wives :
 They scour'd the watch, and windows broke,
 But 'twas their true intent,
 (As our wise ministry did smoke,)
 T' o'erturn the government.

But now your last and blackest deed,
 What mortal can rehearse ?
 The thought of't makes my heart to bleed :
 O muse, assist my verse !
 A plot it was so deeply laid,
 So diabolical,
 Had not the secret been betray'd,
 In *one* 't had slain us all.

Two inkhorn tops your Whigs did fill
 With gunpowder and lead ;
 Which, with two serpents made of quill,
 You in a band-box laid :
 A tinder-box there was beside,
 Which had a trigger to't,
 To which the very string was ty'd,
 That was designed to do't.

me. Heigh! do you write by candlelight! naughty, naughty, naughty, dallah, a hundred times, for doing so. O, faith, DD, I'll take care of myself! The queen is in town, and Lady Masham's month of lying-in is within two days of being out. I was at the christening on Monday. I could not get the child named Robin, after lord-treasurer; it is Samuel, after the father. My brother Ormond sent me some chocolate to-day. I wish you had share of it: they say it is good for me, and I design to drink some in the morning. Our society meets next Thursday, now the queen is in town; and lord-treasurer assures me, that the society for reforming the language shall soon be established. I have given away ten shillings to-day to servants. What a stir is here about your company and visits! Charming company, no doubt;

As traitors spare not care nor cost,
 These crackers dire were sent,
 To th' treasurer, per penny-post,
 And safely so they went:
 And if my lord had pull'd the thread,
 Then up had blown the train,
 And th' inkhorns must have shot him dead,
 Or else have burst in twain.

But fortune spared that precious life,
 And so saved church and queen:
 Good Swift was by, and had a knife
 For corn or pen made keen;
 Stand off, my lord! cried he, this thread
 To cut I will not doubt.
 He cut, then ope'd the band-box lid,
 And so the plot came out.

Now God preserve our gracious queen;
 And for this glorious deed,
 May she the doctor make a dean,
 With all convenient speed:
 What though the *Tub* hath hinder'd him,
 As common story tells,
 Yet surely now the *band-box whim*
 Will help him down to *Wells*.

now I keep no company, nor have I any desire to keep any. I never go to a coffee-house nor a tavern, nor have touched a card since I left Windsor. I make few visits, nor go to levees; my only debauch is sitting late where I dine, if I like the company. I have almost dropped the Duchesses of Shrewsbury and Hamilton, and several others. Lord-treasurer, the Duke of Ormond, and Lady Orkney, are all that I see very often. O yes, and Lady Masham and Lord Bolingbroke, and one or two private friends. I make no figure but at court, where I affect to turn from a lord to the meanest of my acquaintance, and I love to go there on Sundays to see the world. But, to say the truth, I am growing weary of it. I dislike a million of things in the course of public affairs; and if I were to stay here much longer, I am sure I should ruin myself with endeavouring to mend them. I am every day invited into schemes of doing this, but I cannot find any that will probably succeed. It is impossible to save people against their own will; and I have been too much engaged in patch-work already. Do you understand all this stuff? * No. Well then, you are now returned to ombre and the dean, and Christmas; I wish you a very merry one; and pray don't lose your money, nor play upon Watt Welch's game. Night, sirrahs, it is late, I'll go to sleep; I don't sleep well, and therefore never dare to drink coffee or tea after dinner: but I am very sleepy in a morning. This is the effect of wine and years. Night, dearest MD.

13. Morning. I am so very sleepy in the morning

* The reader, however, may easily understand it, by recollecting how anxiously Swift laboured to solder breaches between Bolingbroke and Oxford.

that my man wakens me above ten times ; and now I can tell you no news of this day. (Here is a restless dog, crying cabbages and savoys, plagues me every morning about this time ; he is now at it. I wish his largest cabbage were sticking in his throat.) I lodge over against the house in Little Rider Street, where DD lodged. Don't you remember, mistress ? To-night I must see the Abbé Gautier, to get some particulars for my history. It was he who was first employed by France in the overtures of peace, and I have not had time this month to see him ; he is but a puppy too. Lady Orkney has just sent to invite me to dinner ; she has not given me the bed night-gown ; besides, I am come very much off from writing in bed, though I am doing it this minute ; but I stay till my fire is burnt up. My grate is very large ; two bushels of coals in a week : but I save it in lodgings. Lord Abercorn is come to London, and he will plague me, and I can do him no service. The Duke of Shrewsbury goes in a day or two for France, perhaps to-day. We shall have a peace very soon ; the Dutch are almost entirely agreed, and if they stop we shall make it without them ; that has been resolved. One Squire Jones, a scoundrel in my parish, has writ to me, to desire I would engage Joe Beaumont to give him his interest for parliament man for him : pray tell Joe this ; and if he designed to vote for him already, then he may tell Jones that I received his letter, and that I writ to Joe to do it. If Joe be engaged for any other, then he may do what he will : and Parvisol may say he spoke to Joe, and Joe is engaged, &c. I received three pair of fine thread stockings from Joe lately. Pray, thank him when you see him ; and that I say they are very fine and good. (I never looked at them yet, but that's no mat-

ter.) This is a fine day. I am ruined with coaches and chairs this twelve penny weather. I must see my brother Ormond at eleven, and then the Duchess of Hamilton, with whom I doubt I am in disgrace, not having seen her these ten days. I send this to-day, and must finish it now ; and perhaps some people may come and hinder me ; for it is ten o'clock, (but not shaving day ;) and I must be abroad at eleven. Abbé Gautier sends me word I cannot see him to-night ; p— take him ! I don't value any thing but one letter he has of Petecum's, showing the roguery of the Dutch. Did not the Conduct of the Allies make you great politicians ? Faith, I believe you are not quite so ignorant as I thought you. I am glad to hear you walked so much in the country. Does DD ever read to you, young woman ? O, faith ! I shall find strange doings when I come home ! Here is somebody coming that I must see that wants a little place ; the son of cousin Rooke's eldest daughter, that died many years ago. He is here. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LVII.

London, Dec. 18, 1712.

OUR society was to meet to-day ; but Lord Harley, who was president this week, could not attend, being gone to Wimbleton with his new brother-in-law, the young Marquis of Caermarthen, who married Lady Betty Harley on Monday last ; and lord-treasurer is at Wimbleton too. However, half a dozen of us met, and I

propose our meetings should be once a fortnight ; for, between you and me, we do no good. It cost me nineteen shillings to-day for my club dinner ; I don't like it. We have terrible snowy slobbery weather. Lord Abercorn is come to town, and will see me, whether I will or not. You know he has a pretence to a dukedom in France,* which Duke Hamilton was soliciting for ; but Abercorn resolves to spoil their title, if they will not allow him a fourth part ; and I have advised the duchess to compound with him, and have made the ministry of my opinion. Night, dear sirrahs, MD.

19. How agreeable it is in a morning for Pdfr to write journals again ! It is as natural as mother's milk, now I am got into it. Lord-treasurer is returned from Wimbleton, ('tis not above eight miles off,) and sent for me to dine with him at five ; but I had the grace to be abroad, and dined with some others, with honest Ben Tooke, by invitation. The Duchess of Ormond promised me her picture, and coming home to night, I found hers and the duke's both in my chamber. Was not that a pretty civil surprise ? Yes, and they are in fine gilded frames too. I am writing a letter to thank her ; which I will send to-morrow morning. I will tell her, she is such a prude, that she will not let so much as her picture be alone in a room with *a man*, unless the duke's be with it ; and so forth. We are full of snow, and dabbling. Lady Masham has come abroad these three days, and seen the queen. I dined with her the other day at her sister Hill's. I hope she

* The Dukedom of Chatelherault. Both families continue to claim the title. I know not if the Duke of Hamilton was so fortunate as to secure the property.

will remove in a few days to her new lodgings at St James's from Kensington. Night, dearest rogues, MD.

20. I lodge up two pair of stairs, have but one room, and deny myself to every body almost, yet I cannot be quiet; and all my mornings are lost with people, who will not take answers below stairs; such as Dilly, and the bishop, and provost, &c. Lady Orkney invited me to dinner to-day, which hindered me from dining with lord-treasurer. This is his day, that his chief friends in the ministry dine with him. However, I went there about six, and sat with him till past nine, when they all went off; but he kept me back, and told me the circumstances of Lady Betty's match. The young fellow has L. 60,000 ready money, three great houses furnished, L. 7000 a-year at present, and about five more after his father and mother die. I think Lady Betty's portion is not above L. 8000. I remember Tisdall writ to me in somebody's letter, or you did it for him, that I should mention him on occasion to Lord Anglesey, with whom, he said, he had some little acquaintance. Lord Anglesey was with me to-night at lord-treasurer's; and then I asked him about Tisdall, and described him. He said, he never saw him, but that he had sent him his book. See what it is to be a puppy. Pray tell Mr Walls, that Lord Anglesey thanked me for recommending Clements to him; that he says, he is L. 20,000 the better for knowing Clements. But pray don't let Clements go and write a letter of thanks, and tell my lord, that he hears so and so, &c. Why, it is but like an *Irish* understanding to do so. Sad weather; two shillings in coaches to-day, and yet I am dirty. I am now going to read over something and correct it. So, night.

21. Puppies have got a new way of plaguing me. I

find letters directed for me at lord-treasurer's, sometimes with enclosed ones to him, and sometimes with projects, and sometimes with libels. I usually keep them three or four days without opening. I was at court to-day, as I always am on Sundays, instead of a coffee-house, to see my acquaintance. This day se'enight, after I had been talking at court with Sir William Wyndham, the Spanish ambassador came to him, and said, he heard that was Dr Swift, and desired him to tell me, that his master, and the King of France, and the queen, were more obliged to me than any man in Europe; so we bowed, and shook hands, &c. I took it very well of him. I dined with lord-treasurer, and must again to-morrow, though I had rather not, (as DD says;) but now the queen is in town, he does not keep me so late. I have not had time to see Fanny Manley since she came; but intend it one of these days. Her uncle, Jack Manley, I hear, cannot live a month, which will be a great loss to her father in Ireland, for I believe he is one of his chief supports. Our peace now will soon be determined; for Lord Bolingbroke tells me this morning, that four provinces of Holland have complied with the queen, and we expect the rest will do so immediately. Night, MD.

22. Lord-keeper promised me yesterday the first convenient living to poor Mr Gery, * who is married, and wants some addition to what he has. He is a very worthy creature. I had a letter some weeks ago from Elwick, who married Betty Gery. It seems the poor woman died some time last summer. Elwick grows

* Mr Gery, rector of Litcombe, in Berks, whom Swift highly esteemed.

rich, and purchases lands. I dined with lord-treasurer to-day, who has engaged me to come again to-morrow. I gave Lord Bolingbroke a poem of Parnell's. I made Parnell insert some compliments in it to his lordship.* He is extremely pleased with it, and read some parts of it to-day to lord-treasurer, who liked it as much. And indeed he outdoes all our poets here a bar's length. Lord Bolingbroke has ordered me to bring him to dinner on Christmas day, and I made lord-treasurer promise to see him; and it may one day do Parnell a kindness. † You know Parnell. I believe I have told you of that poem. Night, dear MD.

* The following are the lines in question, and they are rather flat :

“ These toils the graceful Bolingbroke attends,
 A genius fashion'd for the greatest ends ;
 Whose strong perception takes the swiftest flight,
 And yet its swiftness ne'er obscures its sight :
 When schemes are fix'd, and each assign'd a part,
 None serves his country with a nobler heart ;
 Just thoughts of honour all his mind control,
 And expedition wings his lively soul.
 On such a patriot to confer the trust,
 The monarch knows it safe, as well as just.”

Poem on the Peace.

† The well known verses of Pope, on the intimacy between Lord Oxford, Parnell, and Swift, form an elegant and affecting preface to Parnell's Poems.

Such were the notes, thy once-loved poet sung,
 Till death untimely stop'd his tuneful tongue.
 Oh just beheld, and lost ! admired and mourn'd !
 With softest manners, gentlest arts, adorn'd !
 Blest in each science, blest in every strain !
 Dear to the muse, to Harley dear—in vain !

For him, thou oft hast bid the world attend,
 Fond to forget the statesman in the friend :
 For Swift and him despised the farce of state,
 The sober follies of the wise and great ;

23. This morning I presented one Diaper, * a poet, to Lord Bolingbroke, with a new poem, which is a very good one ; and I am to give him a sum of money from my lord ; and I have contrived to make a parson of him, for he is half one already, being in deacon's orders, and serves a small cure in the country ; but has a sword at his tail here in town. It is a poor, little, short wretch, but will do best in a gown, and we will make lord-keeper give him a living. Lord Bolingbroke writ to lord-treasurer to excuse me to-day ; so I dined with the former, and Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador, who made me many compliments. I staid till nine, and now it is past ten, and my man has locked me up, and I have just called to mind that I shall be in disgrace with Tom Leigh. That coxcomb had got into acquaintance with one Eckershall, clerk of the kitchen to the queen, who was civil to him at Windsor on my account ; for I had done some service to Eckershall. Leigh teases me to pass an evening at his lodgings with Eckershall. I put it off several times, but was forced at last to promise I would come to-night ; and it never was in my head till I was locked up, and I have called and called, but my man is gone to bed ; so I will write an excuse to-mor-

Dextrous the craving, fawning crowd to quit,
And pleased to 'scape from flattery to wit.

Absent or dead, still let a friend be dear,
(A sigh the absent claims, the dead a tear.)
Recal those nights that closed thy toilsome days,
Still hear thy Parnell in his living lays :
Who careless now of interest, fame, or fate,
Perhaps forgets that Oxford e'er was great ;
Or deeming meanness what we greatest call,
Beholds thee glorious only in thy fall.

* Author of the Sea Eclogues, mentioned before.

row. I detest that Tom Leigh, and am as formal to him as I can when I happen to meet him in the Park. The rogue frets me if he knew it. He asked me, "Why I did not wait on the Bishop of Dromore?" * I answered, "I had not the honour to be acquainted with him, and would not presume," &c. He takes me seriously, and says, "The bishop is no proud man," &c. He tells me of a judge in Ireland, that has done ill things. I ask, "Why he is not out?" Says he, "I think the bishops, and you, and I, and the rest of the clergy, should meet and consult about it." I beg his pardon, and say, "I cannot be serviceable that way." He answers, "Yes, every body may help something."—Don't you see how curiously he continues to vex me; for the dog knows, that with half a word I could do more than all of them together. But he only does it from the pride and envy of his own heart, and not out of a humorous design of teasing. He is one of those that would rather a service should not be done, than done by a private man, and of his own country. You take all this; don't you? Night, dearest sirrahs! I will go to sleep.

24. I dined to-day with the chancellor of the exchequer, † in order to look over some of my papers; but nothing was done. I have been also mediating between the Hamilton family and Lord Abercorn, to have them compound with him; and I believe they will do it. Lord Selkirk, ‡ the late duke's brother, is to be in

* Dr Tobias Pullen, 1695—1713.

† Robert Benson, Esq.

‡ Lord Charles Douglas. When his father, William Earl of Seikirk, married Anne Duchess of Hamilton, the dukedom and estates of Hamilton descending upon his eldest son, and his second

town, in order to go to France, to make the demands ; and the ministry are of opinion they will get some satisfaction, and they empowered me to advise the Hamilton side to agree with Abercorn, who asks a fourth part, and will go to France and spoil all if they don't yield it. Night, dearest sirrahs.

25. **** I carried Parnell to dine at Lord Bolingbroke's, and he behaved himself very well ; and Lord Bolingbroke is mightily pleased with him. I was at St James's Chapel by eight this morning ; and church and sacrament were done by ten. The queen has got the gout in her hand, and did not come to church to-day ; and I staid so long in my chamber, that I missed going to court. Did I tell you, that the queen designs to have a drawing-room and company every day ? Night, dear rogues.

26. I was to wish the Duke of Ormond a happy Christmas, and give half-a-crown to his porter. It will cost me a dozen half-crowns among such fellows. I dined with lord-treasurer, who chid me for being absent three days. Mighty kind, with a p— ; less of civility, and more of interest ! We hear Macartney is gone over to Ireland.* Was it not comical for a gentleman to be

dying without issue, Lord William, the third son, was, upon his father's resignation in his favour, confirmed by James VII. in the paternal honour of Earl of Selkirk.

* General Macartney, who had been Lord Mohun's second in the duel with the Duke of Hamilton, and whom the popular voice accused of being the duke's murderer, being confessedly within the danger of the law, fled to the Continent, after a day or two's concealment about London. The reward offered for his apprehension was L. 500 by the crown, and L. 200 by the Duchess of Hamilton. In the reign of George I., when government was fa-

set upon by highwaymen, and to tell them he was Macartney? Upon which they brought him to a justice of peace, in hopes of a reward, and the rogues were sent to gaol. Was it not great presence of mind? But may be you heard of this already; for there was a Grub Street of it. Lord Bolingbroke told me I must walk away to-day when dinner was done, because lord-treasurer, and he, and another, were to enter upon business; but I said, it was as fit I should know their business as any body, for I was to justify. So the rest went, and I staid, and it was so important, I was like to sleep over it. I left them at nine, and it is now twelve. Night, MD.

27. I dined to-day with General Hill, governor of Dunkirk. Lady Masham and Mrs Hill, his two sisters, were of the company, and there have I been sitting this evening till eleven, looking over others at play; for I have left off loving play myself; and I think Ppt is now a great gamester. I have a great cold on me, not quite at its height. I have them seldom, and therefore ought to be patient. I met Mr Addison and Pastoral Philips on the Mall to-day, and took a turn with them; but they both looked terribly dry and cold. A curse of party! And do you know I have taken more pains to recommend the Whig wits to the favour and mercy of the ministers than any other people. Steele I have kept in his place. Congreve I have got to be used kindly, and secured. Rowe I have recommended, and got a promise of a place. Philips I should certainly have provided for, if he had not run party mad, and made me

vourable to his cause, and party violence somewhat cooled, Macartney returned, was tried, and acquitted.

withdraw my recommendation. I set Addison so right at first, that he might have been employed, and have partly secured him the place he has ; yet I am worse used by that faction than any man. Well, go to cards, sirrah Ppt, and dress the wine and orange, sirrah Me, * and I'll go sleep. It is late. Night, MD.

28. My cold is so bad, that I could not go to church to-day, nor to court ; but I was engaged to Lord Orkney's, with the Duke of Ormond, at dinner ; and ventured, because I could cough and spit there as I pleased. The Duke and Lord Arran left us, and I have been sitting ever since with Lord and Lady Orkney till past eleven : and my cold is worse, and makes me giddy. I hope it is only my cold. O, says Ppt, every body is giddy with a cold ; I hope it is no more ; but I'll go to bed, for the fellow has bawled past twelve. Night, dears.

29. I got out early to-day, and escaped all my duns. I went to see Lord Bolingbroke about some business, and truly he was gone out too. I dined in the city upon the broiled leg of a goose and a bit of bacon, with my printer. Did I tell you that I forbear printing what I have in hand, till the court decides something about me ? I will contract no more enemies, at least I will not embitter worse those I have already, till I have got under shelter ; and the ministers know my resolution, so that you may be disappointed in seeing this thing as soon as you expected. I hear lord-treasurer is out of order. My cold is very bad. Every body has one. Night, dear rogues.

30. I suppose this will be full by Saturday. Duke of Ormond, Lord Arran, and I, dined privately to-day at an

* Here Me plainly means Dingley

old servant's house of his. The council made us part at six. One Mrs Ramsay dined with us; an old lady of about fifty-five, that we are all very fond of. I called this evening at lord-treasurer's, and sat with him two hours. He has been cupped for a cold, and has been very ill. He cannot dine with Parnell and me at Lord Bolingbroke's to-morrow; but says he will see Parnell some other time. I hoise up Parnell partly to spite the envious Irish folks here, particularly Tom Leigh. I saw the Bishop of Clogher's family to-day; miss is mighty ill of a cold, and coughs incessantly. Night, MD.

31. To-day Parnell and I dined with Lord Bolingbroke, to correct Parnell's poem. I made him show all the places he disliked; and when Parnell has corrected it fully he shall print it. I went this evening to sit with lord-treasurer. He is better, and will be out in a day or two. I sat with him while the young folks went to supper; and then went down, and there were the young folks merry together, having turned Lady Oxford up to my lord, and I staid with them till twelve. There was the young couple, Lord and Lady Caermarthen, and Lord and Lady Dupplin, and Lord Harley and I; and the old folks were together above. It looked like what I have formerly done so often; stealing together from the old folks, though indeed it was not from poor lord-treasurer, who is as young a fellow as any of us: but Lady Oxford is a silly mere old woman. My cold is still so bad that I have not the least smelling. I am just got home, and 'tis past twelve; and I'll go to bed, and settle my head, heavy as lead.

Jan. 1. A great many new years to dearest MD. Pray God Almighty bless you, and send you ever hap-

py ! I forgot to tell you, that yesterday Lord Abercorn was here, teasing me about his French duchy, and suspecting my partiality to the Hamilton family in such a whimsical manner, that Dr Pratt, who was by, thought he was mad. He was no sooner gone, but Lord Orkney sent to know, whether he might come and sit with me half an hour upon some business. I returned answer that I would wait on him ; which I did. We discoursed a while, and he left me with Lady Orkney ; and in came the Earl of Selkirk, whom I had never seen before. He is another brother of Duke Hamilton, and is going to France, by a power from his mother the old duchess, to negotiate their pretensions to the duchy of Châteleraut. He teased me for two hours in spite of my teeth, and held my hand when I offered to stir ; would have had me engage the ministry to favour him against Lord Abercorn, and to convince them that Lord Abercorn had no pretensions ; and desired I would also convince Lord Abercorn himself so ; and concluded, he was sorry I was a greater friend to Abercorn than Hamilton. I had no patience, and used him with some plainness. Am not I purely handled between a couple of puppies ? Ay, says Ppt, you must be meddling in other folks' affairs. I appeal to the Bishop of Clogher whether Abercorn did not complain, that I would not let him see me last year, and that he swore he would take no denial from my servant when he came again. The ministers gave me leave to tell the Hamilton family, it was their opinion, that they ought to agree with Abercorn. Lord Anglesey was then by, and told Abercorn ; upon which he gravely tells me, I was commissioned by the ministers, and ought to perform my commission, &c.—But I'll have done with them. I have

warned lord-treasurer, and Lord Bolingbroke, to beware of Selkirk's teasing on him! yet Abercorn vexes me more. The whelp owes to me all the kind receptions he has had from the ministry. I dined to-day at lord-treasurer's with the young folks, and sat with lord-treasurer till nine, and then was forced to Lady Masham's, and sat there till twelve, talking of affairs, till I am out of humour, as every one must that knows them inwardly. A thousand things wrong, most of them easy to mend; yet our schemes availing at best but little, and sometimes nothing at all. One evil, which I twice patched up with the hazard of all the credit I had, is now spread more than ever. But burn politics, and send me from courts and ministers! Night, dearest little MD.

2. I sauntered about this morning, and went with Dr Pratt to a picture auction, where I had like to be drawn in to buy a picture that I was fond of, but, it seems, was good for nothing. Pratt was there to buy some pictures for the Bishop of Clogher, who resolves to lay out ten pounds to furnish his house with curious pieces.* We dined with the bishop, I being by chance disengaged. And this evening I sate with the Bishop of Ossory,† who is laid up with the gout. The French ambassador, Duke d'Aumont,‡ came to town to-night; and the rabble conducted him home with shouts. I cannot smell yet,

* This seems to be seriously written; and if so, how many *curious pieces* of painting were to be bought for ten pounds? If the phrase be ironical, it is inconsistent with the rest of the bishop's character, who was neither fool nor miser.

† Dr John Harstonge, translated to Derry in 1714.

‡ He entered in prodigious state, and scattered money among the populace, bribing their applause, as the Whigs alleged, both through their eyes and their fingers.

though my cold begins to break. It continues cruel hard frosty weather. Go and be merry, little sirrahs.

3. Lord Dupplin and I went with Lord and Lady Orkney this morning at ten to Wimbleton, six miles off, to see Lord and Lady Caermarthen. It is much the finest place about this town. Did you never see it? I was once there before, about five years ago. You know Lady Caermarthen is lord-treasurer's daughter, married about three weeks ago.—I hope the young fellow will be a good husband. I must send this away now. I came back just by nightfall, cruel cold weather; **** I'll take my leave. I forgot how MD's accounts are. Pray let me know always timely before MD wants; and pray give the bill on the other side to Mrs Brent as usual. I believe I have not paid her this great while. Go, play at cards. **** Love Pdfr. Night, MD, FW, Me, Lele. The six odd shillings, tell Mrs Brent, are for her new year's gift. I am just now told that poor dear Lady Ashburnham, the Duke of Ormond's daughter, died yesterday at her country house. The poor creature was with child. She was my greatest favourite, and I am in excessive concern for her loss. I hardly knew a more valuable person on all accounts. You must have heard me talk of her. I am afraid to see the duke and duchess. She was naturally very healthy; I fear has been thrown away for want of care. Pray condole with me. 'Tis extremely moving. Her lord is a puppy; and I shall never think it worth my while to be troubled with him, now he has lost all that was valuable in his possession; yet I think he used her pretty well. I hate life when I think it exposed to such accidents; and to see so many thousand wretches burdening the earth, while such as her

die, makes me think God did never intend life for a blessing.* Farewell.

LETTER LVIII.

London, Jan. 4, 1712-13.

I ENDED my last with the melancholy news of poor Lady Ashburnham's death. The Bishop of Clogher and Dr Pratt made me dine with them to-day at Lord Mountjoy's, pursuant to an engagement, which I had forgot. Lady Mountjoy told me that Macartney was got safe out of our clutches, for she had spoke with one who had a letter from him from Holland. Others say the same thing.—As I left Lord Mountjoy's I saw the Duke d'Aumont, the French ambassador, going from Lord Bolingbroke's, where he dined, to have a private audience of the queen. I followed, and went up to court, where there was a great crowd. I was talking with the Duke of Argyle by the fireside in the bedchamber, when the ambassador came out from the queen. Argyle presented me to him, and Lord Bolingbroke, and we talked together a while. He is a fine gentleman, something like the Duke of Ormond, and just such an expensive man. After church to-day, I showed the Bishop of Clogher, at court, who was who. Night, my two dear rogues.

* This is the reflection of nature, and therefore always affecting. In the extinction of one valuable life, we look upon that indulged to the thousands who remain as a superfluous waste of existence.

Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life,
And those no breath at all?

5. Our frost is broke, but it is bloody cold. Lord-treasurer is recovered, and went out this evening to the queen. I dined with Lady Oxford, and then sate with lord-treasurer till he went out. He gave me a letter from an unknown hand, relating to Dr Brown, Bishop of Cork, recommending him to a better bishopric, as a person who opposed Lord Wharton, and was made a bishop on that account, celebrating him for a great politician, &c. : in short, all directly contrary to his character, which I made bold to explain. What dogs there are in the world! I was to see the poor Duke and Duchess of Ormond this morning. The duke was in his public room, with Mr Southwell and two more gentlemen. When Southwell and I were alone with him, he talked something of Lord Ashburnham, that he was afraid the Whigs would get him again. He bore up as well as he could, but something falling accidentally in discourse, the tears were just falling out of his eyes, and I looked off to give him an opportunity (which he took) of wiping them with his handkerchief. I never saw any thing so moving, nor such a mixture of greatness of mind, and tenderness, and discretion. Night, dearest MD.

6. Lord Bolingbroke, and Parnell, and I, dined, by invitation, with my friend Dartineuf, whom you have heard me talk of. Lord Bolingbroke likes Parnell mightily; and it is pleasant to see, that one, who hardly passed for any thing in Ireland, makes his way here with a little friendly forwarding. It is scurvy rainy weather, and I have hardly been abroad to-day, nor know any thing that passes.—Lord-treasurer is quite recovered, and I hope will take care to keep himself well. The Duchess of Marlborough is leaving England, to go to her duke, and makes presents of rings to several

friends, they say worth two hundred pounds a piece. I am sure she ought to give me one, though the duke pretended to think me his greatest enemy, and got people to tell me so, and very mildly to let me know how gladly he would have me softened toward him. I bid a lady of his acquaintance and mine let him know, that I had hindered many a bitter thing against him; not for his own sake, but because I thought it looked base; and I desired every thing should be left him, except power. Night, MD. *

7. I dined with Lord and Lady Masham to-day, and this evening played at ombre with Mrs Vanhomrigh, merely for amusement. The ministers have got my papers, and will neither read them nor give them to me; and I can hardly do any thing. Very warm slab-

* It cannot be superfluous to compare what Swift here says of the Duchess of Marlborough, *flagrante odio*, with the opinion which she entertained of him, and of his politics, many years afterwards. "Dean Swift gives the most exact account of kings, ministers, bishops, and the courts of justice, that is possible to be writ. He has certainly a vast deal of wit; and since he could contribute so much to the pulling down the most honest and best intentioned ministry that ever I knew, with the help only of Abigail, and one or two more; and has certainly stopt the finishing stroke to ruin the Irish, in the project of the halfpence, in spite of all the ministry could do; I could not [cannot] help wishing, that we had had his assistance in the opposition; for I could easily forgive him all the slaps he has given me, and the Duke of Marlborough, and have thanked him heartily, whenever he would please to do good. I never saw him in my life; and though his writings have entertained me very much, yet I see he writes sometimes for interest: for in his books he gives my Lord Oxford as great a character as if he was speaking of Socrates or Marcus Antoninus. But when I am dead, the reverse of that character will come out, with vouchers to it, under his own hand."—*The Opinions of Sarah, Duchess Dowager of Marlborough*, 12mo, 1788, p. 79.

by weather, but I made a shift to get a walk ; yet I lost half of it, by shaking off Lord Rochester, * who is a good, civil, simple man. The Bishop of Ossory † will not be Bishop of Hereford, to the great grief of himself and his wife. And what is MD doing now, I wonder ? Playing at cards with the dean and Mrs Walls ? I think it is not certain yet that Macartney is escaped. I am plagued with bad authors, verse and prose, who send me their books and poems, the vilest trash I ever saw ; but I have given their names to my man, never to let them see me. I have got weak ink, and it is very white ; and I don't see that it turns black at all. I'll go to sleep ; it is past twelve.—Night, MD.

8. You must understand that I am in my geers, and have got a chocolate-pot, a present from Mrs Ash of Clogher, and some chocolate from my brother Ormond, and I treat folks sometimes. I dined with lord-treasurer at five o'clock to-day, and was by while he and Lord Bolingbroke were at business ; for it is fit I should know all that passes now, because, &c. The Duke of Ormond employed me to speak to lord-treasurer to-day about an affair, and I did so ; and the duke spoke himself two hours before, which vexed me, and I will chide the duke about it. I'll tell you a good thing ; there is not one of the ministry but what will employ me as gravely to speak for them to lord-treasurer, as if I were their brother or his ; and I do it as gravely : though I

* Henry Hyde, son of Laurence, Earl of Rochester, younger son of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and minister of Charles II. This Henry succeeded to the title of Earl of Clarendon, March 31, 1723, on the death of Edward, the third Earl of Clarendon. He was cousin-german to Queen Anne, by her mother's side.

† Dr John Harstonge, 1693—1714.

know they do it only because they will not make themselves uneasy, or had rather I should be denied than they. I believe our peace will not be finished these two months ; for I think we must have a return from Spain by a messenger, who will not go till Sunday next. Lord-treasurer has invited me to dine with him again to-morrow. Your commissioner, Keatly, is to be there. Night, dearest MD.

9. Dr Pratt drank chocolate with me this morning, and then we walked. I was yesterday with him to see Lady Betty Butler, grieving for her sister Ashburnham. The jade was in bed in form, and she did so cant, she made me sick. I meet Tom Leigh every day in the Park, to preserve his health. He is as ruddy as a rose, and tells me his Bishop of Dromore recovers very much. That bishop has been very near dying. This day's Examiner talks of the play of *What is it like ?* and you will think it to be mine, and be bit ; for I have no hand in these papers at all. I dined with lord-treasurer, and shall again to-morrow, which is his day when all the ministers dine with him. He calls it whipping-day. It is always on Saturday, and we do indeed usually rally him about his faults on that day. I was of the original club, when only poor Lord Rivers, lord-keeper, and Lord Bolingbroke came ; but now Ormond, Anglesey, lord-steward, Dartmouth, and other rabble intrude, and I scold at it ; but now they pretend as good a title as I ; and, indeed, many Saturdays I am not there. The company being too many, I don't love it. Night, MD.

10. At seven this evening, as we sat after dinner at lord-treasurer's, a servant said Lord Peterborow was at the door. Lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke went out to meet him, and brought him in. He was just re

turned from abroad, where he has been above a year. As soon as he saw me, he left the Duke of Ormond and other lords, and ran and kissed me before he spoke to them; but chid me terribly for not writing to him, which I never did this last time he was abroad, not knowing where he was; and he changed places so often, it was impossible a letter should overtake him. He left England with a bruise, by his coach overturning, that made him spit blood, and was so ill, we expected every post to hear of his death; but he outrode it, or outdrank it, or something, and is come home lustier than ever. He is at least sixty, and has more spirits than any young fellow I know of in England. He has got the old Oxford regiment of horse, and I believe will have a garter. I love the hang-dog dearly. Night, dearest MD.

11. The court was crammed to-day, to see the French ambassador; but he did not come. Did I never tell you, that I go to court on Sundays as to a coffee-house, to see acquaintance, whom I should not otherwise see twice a-year? The provost and I dine with Ned Southwell, by appointment, in order to settle your kingdom, if my scheme can be followed; but I doubt our ministry will be too tedious. You must certainly have a new parliament; but they would have that a secret yet. Our parliament here will be prorogued for three weeks. Those puppies the Dutch will not yet come in, though they pretend to submit to the queen in every thing; but they would fain try first how our session begins, in hopes to embroil us in the House of Lords: and if my advice had been taken, the session should have begun, and we would have trusted the parliament to approve the steps already made toward the peace, and had an address perhaps from them to conclude without the Dutch, if they would not

agree.—Others are of my mind, but it is not reckoned so safe, it seems; yet I doubt whether the peace will be ready so soon as three weeks, but that is a secret. Night, MD. *

12. Pratt and I walked into the city to one Bateman's, a famous bookseller, for old books. There I laid out four pounds like a fool, and we dined at a hedge ale-house, for two shillings and twopence, like emperors. Let me see, I bought Plutarch, two volumes, for thirty shillings, &c. Well, I'll tell you no more; you don't understand Greek. We have no news, and I have nothing more to say to-day, and I can't finish my work. These ministers will not find time to do what I would have them. So night, own dear dallars.

13. I was to have dined to-day with lord-keeper, but would not, because that brute Sir John Walter was to be one of the company. You may remember he railed at

* The ministers were sorely distracted between the reluctance of the Dutch to treat at all, and the artifices of the French to make the most they could of the necessity of a peace to which Britain (or rather the administration) was reduced. Bolingbroke writes to Prior, then at Paris, in the following terms:—"We are now at the true crisis of our disease; we die at once, or recover at once. Let France depart from that shameful expedient, by which they thought to bubble us out of the advantages which they had solemnly yielded, and all is well; otherwise, by God, both they and we are undone. The queen can neither delay the meeting of the parliament longer than the 3d, nor speak to the Houses till we hear from you. My compliments to Monsieur de Torcy. Let him know, that if they do not agree to the queen, I may, perhaps, be a refugee. If I am, I promise beforehand to behave myself better in France than the French refugees do here. Make the French ashamed of their sneaking chicane. By Heaven, they treat like pedlars, or, which is worse, like attornies."

me last summer was twelvemonth at Windsor, and has never begged my pardon, though he promised to do it ; and Lord Mansel, who was one of the company, would certainly have set us together by the ears, out of pure roguish mischief. So I dined with lord-treasurer, where there was none but Lord Bolingbroke. I staid till eight, and then went to Lady Orkney's, who has been sick, and sat with her till twelve. The parliament was prorogued to-day, as I told you, for three weeks. Our weather is very bad, and slobbery, and I shall spoil my new hat, (I have bought a new hat,) or empty my pockets. Does Hawkshaw pay the interest he owes? Lord Abercorn plagues me to death. I have now not above six people to provide for, and about as many to do good offices to ; and thrice as many that I will do nothing for ; nor can I if I would. Night, dear MD.

14. To-day I took the circle of morning visits. I went to the Duchess of Ormond, and there was she, and Lady Betty, and Lord Ashburnham together : this was the first time the mother and daughter saw each other since Lady Ashburnham's death. They were both in tears, and I chid them for being together, and made Lady Betty go to her own chamber ; then sat a while with the duchess, and went after Lady Betty, and all was well. There is something of farce in all these mournings, let them be ever so serious. People will pretend to grieve more than they really do, and that takes off from their true grief. * I then went to the Duchess of Hamilton, who never grieved, but raged, and stormed, and railed.

* This maxim is worthy of Rochefoucault. I know not whether it is refining upon it to say, that upon occasions of formal mourning, strangers generally feel more than they expected, and

She is pretty quiet now, but has a diabolical temper. Lord-keeper and his son, and their two ladies, and I, dined to-day with Mr Cæsar, treasurer of the navy, at his house in the city, where he keeps his office. We happened to talk of Brutus, and I said something in his praise, when it struck me immediately that I had made a blunder in doing so; and, therefore, I recollected myself, and said, Mr Cæsar, I beg your pardon. So we laughed, &c. Night, my own dearest little rogues, MD.

15. I forgot to tell you, that last night I had a present sent me (I found it, when I came home, in my chamber) of the finest wild-fowl I ever saw, with the vilest letter, and from the vilest poet in the world, who sent it me as a bribe to get him an employment. I knew not where the scoundrel lived, so I could not send them back; and, therefore, I gave them away as freely as I got them, and have ordered my man never to let up the poet when he comes. The rogue should have kept the wings at least for his muse. One of his fowls was a large capon pheasant, as fat as a pullet. I ate share of it to-day with a friend. We have now a drawing-room every Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at one o'clock. The queen does not come out; but all her ministers, foreigners, and persons of quality, are at it. I was there to-day; and as lord-treasurer came toward me, I avoided him, and he hunted me thrice about the room. I affect never to take notice of him at church or court. He knows it, for I have told him so; and to-night, at Lord Masham's, he gave an account of it to the company; but my

those really afflicted something less. The formality which imposes awe and melancholy upon indifference, distracts the feelings of real grief.

reasons are, that people seeing me speak to him causes a great deal of teasing. I tell you what comes into my head, that I never knew whether you were Whigs or Tories, and I value our conversation the more that it never turned on that subject. I have a fancy that Ppt is a Tory, and a rigid one. I don't know why; but methinks she looks like one, and DD a sort of a trimmer. Am I right? I gave the Examiner a hint about this prorogation, and to praise the queen for her tenderness to the Dutch in giving them still more time to submit. It fitted the occasions at present.

16. I was busy to-day at the secretary's office, and staid till past three. The Duke of Ormond and I were to dine at Lord Orkney's. The duke was at the committee, so I thought all was safe. When I went there, they had almost dined; for the duke had sent to excuse himself, which I never knew. I came home at seven, and began a little whim, which just came into my head; and will make a threepenny pamphlet. It shall be finished and out in a week; and if it succeed, you shall know what it is; otherwise, not. I cannot send this to-morrow, and will put it off till next Saturday, because I have much business. So my journals shall be short, and Ppt must have patience.

17. This rogue Parnell has not yet corrected his poem, and I would fain have it out. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer, and his Saturday's company, nine of us in all. They went away at seven, and lord-treasurer and I sat talking an hour after. After dinner, he was talking to the lords about the speech the queen must make when the Parliament meets. He asked me how I would make it? I was going to be serious, because it was seriously put; but I turned it to a jest. And because they had

been speaking of the Duchess of Marlborough going to Flanders after the duke, I said, the speech should begin thus:—My Lords and Gentlemen, In order to my own quiet, and that of my subjects, I have thought fit to send the Duchess of Marlborough abroad after the duke. This took well, and turned off the discourse. I must tell you, I do not at all like the present situation of affairs, and remember I tell you so. Things must be on another foot, or we are all undone. I hate this driving always to an inch.

18. We had a mighty full court to-day. Dilly was with me at the French church, and edified mightily. Duke of Ormond and I dined at Lord^r Orkney's; but I left them at seven, and came home to my whim. I have made a great progress. My large Treatise* stands stock still. Some think it too dangerous to publish, and would have me print only what relates to the peace. I cannot tell what I shall do. The Bishop of Dromore is dying.—They thought yesterday he could not live two hours: yet he is still alive, but is utterly past all hopes. Go to cards, dearest MD.

19. I was this morning to see the Duke and Duchess of Ormond. The Duke d'Aumont came in while I was with the Duke of Ormond, and we complimented each other like dragons. A poor fellow called at the door where I lodge, with a parcel of oranges for a present for me. I bid my man learn what his name was, and whence it came. He sent word his name was Bun, and that I knew him very well. I bid my man tell him I was busy, and he could not speak to me; and not to let him leave his oranges. I know no more of it, but I am

* His History of the Peace of Utrecht.

sure I never heard the name, and I shall take no such presents from strangers. Perhaps he might be only some beggar, who wanted a little money. Perhaps it might be something worse. Let them keep their poison for their rats. I don't love it. That blot* is a blunder. Night, dear MD.

20. A committee of our society dined to-day with the chancellor of the exchequer. Our society does not meet now as usual, for which I am blamed: but till lord-treasurer will agree to give us money and employments to bestow, I am averse to it; and he gives us nothing but promises. Bishop of Dromore is still alive, and that is all. We expect every day he will die, and then Tom Leigh must go back, which is one good thing to the town. I believe Pratt will drive at one of these bishoprics. Our English bishopric † is not yet disposed of. I believe the peace will not be ready by the session.

21. I was to-day with my printer, to give him a little pamphlet I have written, but not politics. It will be out by Monday. If it succeeds, I will tell you of it; otherwise, not. We had a prodigious thaw to-day, as bad as rain; yet I walked like a good boy all the way. The Bishop of Dromore still draws breath, but cannot live two days longer. My large book lies flat. Some people think a great part of it ought not to be now printed. I believe I told you so before. This letter shall not go till Saturday, which makes up the three weeks exactly, and I allow MD six weeks, which are now almost

* A line erased.

† That of Hereford, vacant by the death of Dr Humphry Humphreys, on the 20th of November, 1712.

out ; so you must know I expect a letter very soon, and that MD is very well ; and so night, dear MD.

22. This is one of our court days, and I was there. I told you there is a drawing-room, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The Hamiltons and Abercorns have done teasing me. The latter, I hear, is actually going to France. Lord-treasurer quarrelled with me at court, for being four days without dining with him ; so I dined there to-day, and he has at last fallen in with my project (as he calls it) of coining halfpence and farthings, with devices, like medals, in honour of the queen, every year changing the device. I wish it may be done. Night, MD.

23. Duke of Ormond and I appointed to dine with Ned Southwell to-day, to talk of settling your affairs of Parliament in Ireland, but there was a mixture of company, and the Duke of Ormond was in haste, and nothing was done. If your Parliament meets this summer, it must be a new one ; but I find some are of opinion there should be none at all these two years. I will trouble myself no more about it. My design was to serve the Duke of Ormond. Dr Pratt and I sat this evening with the Bishop of Clogher, and played at ombre for threepence. That I suppose is but low with you. I found, at coming home, a letter from MD, N. 37. I shall not answer it this bout, but will the next. I am sorry for poor Ppt. Pray walk if you can. I have got a terrible new cold before my old one was quite gone, and don't know how. **** I shall have DD's money soon from the exchequer. The Bishop of Dromore is dead now at last. Night, MD.

24. I was at court to-day, and it was comical to see Lord Abercorn bowing to me, but not speaking, and

Lord Selkirk the same. I dined with lord-treasurer and his Saturday club, and sat with him two hours after the rest were gone, and spoke freer to him of affairs than I am afraid others do, who might do more good. All his friends repine, and shrug their shoulders ; but will not deal with him so freely as they ought. It is an odd business ; the Parliament just going to sit, and no employments given. They say they will give them in a few days. There is a new bishop made of Hereford ; * so Ossory is disappointed. I hinted so to his friends two months ago, to make him leave off deluding himself, and being indiscreet, as he was. I have just time to send this, without giving it to the bellman. My second cold is better now.—Night, dearest little MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LIX.

London, Jan. 25, 1712-1713.

WE had such a terrible storm to-day, that, going to Lord Bolingbroke's, I saw a hundred tiles fallen down ; and one swinger fell about forty yards before me, that would have killed a horse : so, after church and court, I walked through the Park, and took a chair to lord-treasurer's. Next door to his house, a tin chimney-top had fallen down, with a hundred bricks. It is grown calm this evening. I wonder had you such a wind to-day ? I hate it as much as any hog does. Lord-treasurer has engaged me to dine again with him to-morrow. He has

* Dr Bisse was transferred to it from the see of St David's.

those tricks sometimes of inviting me from day to day, which I am forced to break through. My little pamphlet is out: 'tis not politics. If it takes, I say again you shall hear of it.

26. This morning I felt a little touch of giddiness, which has disordered and weakened me with its ugly remains all this day. **** After dinner at lord-treasurer's, the French ambassador, Duke d'Aumont, sent lord-treasurer word, that his house was burnt down to the ground. It took fire in the upper rooms, while he was at dinner with Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador, and other persons; and soon after Lord Bolingbroke came to us with the same story. We are full of speculations upon it, but I believe it was the carelessness of his French rascally servants. It is odd that this very day Lord Somers, Wharton, Sunderland, Halifax, and the whole club of Whig lords, dined at Pontac's in the city, as I received private notice. They have some damned design. I tell you another odd thing; I was observing it to lord-treasurer, that he was stabbed on the day King William died; and the day I saved his life, by opening the band-box, was King William's birth-day. My friend Mr Lewis* has had a lie spread on him by the mistake of a man, who went to another of his name, to give him thanks for passing his privy seal to come from France. That other Lewis spread about, that the man brought him thanks from Lord Perth and Lord Melfort, (two lords with the Pretender,) for his great services, &c. The lords will examine that other Lewis to-morrow in council; and I

* Erasmus Lewis, secretary to the Earl of Dartmouth, one of the secretaries of state, and afterwards to the Earl of Oxford. Swift's narrative of this matter may be found in this volume.

believe you will hear of it in the prints, for I will make Abel Roper give a relation of it. Pray tell me if it be necessary to write a little plainer; for I looked over a bit of my last letter, and could hardly read it. I'll mend my hand, if you please: but "you are more used to it *nor* I," as Mr Raymond says. Night, MD.

27. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer: this makes four days together; and he has invited me again to-morrow, but I absolutely refused him. I was this evening at a christening with him of Lord Dupplin's daughter. He went away at ten; but they kept me and some others till past twelve; so you may be sure 'tis late, as they say. We have now stronger suspicions that the Duke d'Aumont's house was set on fire by malice. I was to-day to see lord-keeper, who has quite lost his voice with a cold. There Dr Radcliffe told me, that it was the ambassador's confectioner set the house on fire by boiling sugar, and going down and letting it boil over. Yet others still think differently; so I know not what to judge. Night, my own dearest MD.

28. I was to-day at court, where the ambassador talked to me as if he did not suspect any design in burning d'Aumont's house: but Abbé Gautier, secretary for France here, said quite otherwise; and that d'Aumont had a letter the very same day, to let him know his house should be burnt, and tells several other circumstances too tedious to write. One is, that a fellow mending the tiles just when the fire broke out, saw a pot with wildfire in the room.* I dined with Lord Orkney. Neither Lord Abercorn nor Selkirk will now

* It was a shocking peculiarity of that time, that every casualty was held to be the result of a plot.

speak with me. I have disoblighd both sides. Night, dear MD.

29. Our society met to-day, fourteen of us, and at a tavern. We now resolve to meet but once a fortnight, and have a committee every other week of six or seven, to consult about doing some good. I proposed another message to lord-treasurer by three principal members, to give a hundred guineas to a certain person, and they are to urge it as well as they can. We also raised sixty guineas upon our own society; but I made them do it by assessors, and I was one of them, and we fitted our tax to the several estates. The Duke of Ormond pays ten guineas, and I the third part of a guinea; at that rate, they may tax as often as they please. Well, but I must answer your letter, young women: not yet; it is late now, and I can't find it. Night, dearest MD.

30. I have drank Spa waters these two or three days; but they do not pass, and make me very giddy. I am not well; faith, I will take them no more. I sauntered after church with the provost to-day, to see a library to be sold, and dined at five with Lord Orkney. We still think there was malice in burning d'Aumont's house. I hear little Harrison is come over; it was he I sent to Utrecht. He is now queen's secretary to the embassy, and has brought with him the Barrier Treaty, as it is now corrected by us, and yielded to by the Dutch, which was the greatest difficulty to retard the peace. I hope he will bring over the peace a month hence, for we will send him back as soon as possible. I long to see the little brat, my own creature. His pay is in all a thousand pounds a-year, and they have never paid him a groat, though I have teased their hearts out. He must be three

or four hundred pounds in debt at least. Poor brat ! Let me go to bed, sirrahs.—Night, dear MD.

31. Harrison was with me this morning ; we talked three hours, and then I carried him to court. When we went down to the door of my lodging, I found a coach waited for him. I chid him for it ; but he whispered me it was impossible to do otherwise ; and in the coach he told me he had not one farthing in his pocket to pay it ; and therefore took the coach for the whole day, and intended to borrow money somewhere or other. So there was the queen's minister intrusted in affairs of the greatest importance, without a shilling in his pocket to pay a coach ! I paid him while he was with me seven guineas, in part of a dozen of shirts he bought me in Holland. I presented him to the Duke of Ormond, and several lords at court ; and I contrived it so, that lord-treasurer came to me, and asked (I had Parnell by me) whether that was Dr Parnell, and came up and spoke to him with great kindness, and invited him to his house. I value myself upon making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell, and not Parnell with the ministry. His poem is almost fully corrected, and shall be soon out. Here is enough for to-day: only to tell you, that I was in the city with my printer to alter an Examiner about my friend Lewis's story, which will be told with remarks.

Sunday, February 1. I could do nothing till to-day about the Examiner, but the printer came this morning, and I dictated to him what was fit to be said, and then Mr Lewis came, and corrected it as he would have it ; so I was neither at church nor court. The Duke of Ormond and I dined at Lord Orkney's. I left them at seven, and sat with Sir Andrew Fountaine, who has a

very bad sore leg, for which he designs to go to France. Here is a week gone, and one side of this letter not finished. O, but I will write now but once in three weeks.—Yes, faith, this shall go sooner. The Parliament is to sit on the third, but will adjourn for three or four days; for the queen is laid up with the gout, and both speakers out of order, though one of them, the lord-keeper, is almost well. I spoke to the Duke of Ormond a good deal about Ireland. We do not altogether agree, nor am I judge enough of Irish affairs; but I will speak to lord-treasurer to-morrow, that we three may settle some way or other.

2. I had a letter some days ago from Molly Gery; her name is now Wigmore, and her husband is turned parson. She desires nothing, but that I would get lord-keeper to give him a living; but I will send her no answer, though she desires it much. She still makes mantuas at Farnham. It rained all this day, and Dilly came to me, and was coaching it into the city; so I went with him for a shaking, because it would not cost me a farthing. There I met my friend Stratford, the merchant, who is going abroad to gather up his debts, and be clear in the world. He begged that I would dine with some merchant friends of ours there, because it was the last time I should see him: so I did, and thought to have seen lord-treasurer in the evening, but he happened to go out at five; so I visited some friends, and came home. And now I have the greatest part of your letter to answer; and yet I will not do it to-night, say what you please. The Parliament meets to-morrow, but will be prorogued for a fortnight; which disappointment will, I believe, vex abundance of them, though they are not Whigs; for they are forced to be in town at expence for nothing:

but we want an answer from Spain, before we are sure of every thing being right for the peace; and God knows whether we can have that answer this month. It is a most ticklish juncture of affairs; we are always driving to an inch: I am weary of it. Night, MD.

3. The Parliament met, and was prorogued, as I said, and I found some cloudy faces, and heard some grumbling. We have got over all our difficulties with France, I think. They have now settled all the articles of commerce between us and them, wherein they were very much disposed to play the rogue if we had not held them to; and this business we wait for from Spain is to prevent some other rogueries of the French, who are finding an evasion to trade to the Spanish West Indies: but I hope we shall prevent it. I dined with lord-treasurer, and he was in good humour enough. I gave him that part of my book in manuscript to read where his character was, and drawn pretty freely. He was reading and correcting it with his pencil, when the Bishop of St David's * (now removing to Hereford) came and interrupted us. I left him at eight, and sat till twelve with the provost and Bishop of Clogher.

[Wednesday] 4. I was to-day at court, but kept out of lord-treasurer's way, because I was engaged to the Duke of Ormond, where I dined, and, I think, eat and drank too much. I sat this evening with Lady Masham, and then with Lord Masham and lord-treasurer at Lord Masham's. It was last year, you may remember, my constant evening place. I saw Lady Jersey with Lady Masham, who has been laying out for my acquaintance, and has forced a promise for me to drink chocolate with

* Dr Philip Bisse.

her in a day or two, which I know not whether I shall perform, (I have just mended my pen, you see,) for I do not much like her character; but she is very malicious, and therefore I think I must keep fair with her. I cannot send this letter till Saturday next, I find; so I will answer yours now. I see no different days of the month; yet it is dated January 3. So it was long a coming. I did not write to Dr Coghill that I would have nothing in Ireland; but that I was soliciting nothing any where, and that is true. I have named Dr Sterne* to lord-treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, for a bishopric, and I did it heartily. I know not what will come of it; but I tell you as a great secret, that I have made the Duke of Ormond promise me to recommend nobody till he tells me, and this for some reasons too long to mention. My head is still in no good order. I am heartily sorry for Ppt. I am sure her head is good for ****. I'll answer more to-morrow. Night, dearest MD.

5. [6.] I must go on with your letter. I dined to-day with Sir Andrew Fountaine and the provost, and played at ombre with him all the afternoon. I won, yet Sir Andrew is an admirable player. Lord Pembroke came in, and I gave him three or four scurvy Dilly puns, that begin with an *if*. Well, but your letter, well, let me see.—No; I believe I shall write no more this good while, nor publish what I have done. **** I did not suspect you would tell Filby. You are so ****. Turns and visitations—what are these? I'll preach and visit as much for Mr Walls. Pray God mend people's health; mine is but very iudifferent. I

* Dean of St Patrick's.

have left off Spa water ; it makes my legs swell. Night, dearest MD.

6. [7.] This is the queen's birth-day, and I never saw it celebrated with so much hurry and fine clothes. I went to court to see them, and I dined with lord-keeper, where the ladies were fine to admiration. I passed the evening at Mrs Vanhomrigh's, and came home pretty early, to answer your letter again. Pray God keep the queen. She was very ill about ten days ago, and had the gout in her stomach. When I came from lord-keeper's, I called at lord-treasurer's, because I heard he was very fine, and that was a new thing ; and it was true, for his coat and waistcoat were embroidered. I have seen the provost often since, and never spoke to him to speak to the Temples about Daniel Carr, nor will ; I don't care to do it. I have writ lately to Parvisol. You did well to let him make up his accompts. All things grow dear in Ireland, but corn to the parsons ; for my livings are fallen much this year by Parvisol's account. Night, dearest rogues, MD.

7. [8.] I was at court to-day, but saw no birth-day clothes ; the great folks never wear them above once or twice. I dined with Lord Orkney, and sat the evening with Sir Andrew Fountaine, whose leg is in a very dubious condition. Pray let me know when DD's money is near due : always let me know it beforehand. This, I believe, will hardly go till Saturday ; for I tell you what, being not very well, I dare not study much : so I let company come in a morning, and the afternoon pass in dining and sitting somewhere. Lord-treasurer is angry, if I don't dine with him every second day, and I cannot part with him till late : he kept me last night till near twelve. Our weather is constant rain above

these two months, which hinders walking, so that our spring is not like yours. I have not seen Fanny Manley yet; I cannot find time. I am in rebellion with all my acquaintance, but I will mend with my health and the weather. Clogher make a figure! Clogher make a——. Colds! why we have been all dying with colds; but now they are a little off, and my second is almost off. I can do nothing for Swanton indeed. It is a thing impossible, and wholly out of my way. If he buys, he must buy. So now I have answered your letter; and there's an end of that now; and I'll say no more, but bid you night, dear MD.

8. [9.] It was terrible rainy to-day from morning till night. I intended to have dined with lord-treasurer, but went to see Sir Andrew Fountaine, and he kept me to dinner, which saved coach-hire; and I staid with him all the afternoon, and lost thirteen shillings and sixpence at ombre. There was management! and lord-treasurer will chide; but I'll dine with him to-morrow. The Bishop of Clogher's daughter has been ill some days, and it proves the small-pox. She is very full; but it comes out well, and they apprehend no danger. Lady Orkney has given me her picture; a very fine original of Sir Godfrey Kneller's; it is now a mending. He has favoured her squint admirably; and you know I love a cast in the eye. I was to see Lady Worsley to-day, who is just come to town; she is full of rheumatic pains. All my acquaintance grow old and sickly. She lodges in the very house in King Street, between St James's Street and St James's Square, where DD's brother bought the sweetbread, when I lodged there, and DD came to see me. Short****. Night, MD.

9. [10.] I thought to have dined with lord-treasurer

to-day, but he dined abroad at Tom Harley's; so I dined at Lord Masham's, and was winning all I had lost playing with Lady Masham at crown piquet, when we went to pools, and I lost it again. Lord-treasurer came in to us, and chid me for not following him to Tom Harley's. Miss Ashe is still the same, and they think her not in danger; my man calls there daily after I am gone out, and tells me at night. I was this morning to see Lady Jersey, and we have made twenty parties about dining together, and I shall hardly keep one of them. She is reduced after all her greatness to seven servants, and a small house, and no coach. I like her tolerably as yet. Night, MD.

10. [11.] I made visits this morning to the Duke and Duchess of Ormond, and Lady Betty, and the Duchess of Hamilton. (When I was writing this near twelve o'clock, the Duchess of Hamilton sent to have me dine with her to-morrow. I am forced to give my answer through the door, for my man has got the key, and is gone to-bed; but I cannot obey her, for our society meets to-morrow.) I stole away from lord-treasurer by eight, and intended to have passed the evening with Sir Thomas Clarges and his lady; but met them in another place, and have there sate till now. My head has not been ill to-day. I was at court, and made Lord Mansel walk with me in the Park before we went to dinner.—Yesterday and to-day have been fair, but yet it rained all last night. I saw Sterne staring at court to-day. He has been often to see me, he says: but my man has not yet let him up. He is in deep mourning; I hope it is not for his wife. I did not ask him. Night, MD.

12. I have reckoned days wrong all this while ; * for this is the twelfth. I do not know when I lost it. I dined to-day with our society, the greatest dinner I have ever seen. It was at Jack Hill's, the governor of Dunkirk. I gave an account of sixty guineas I had collected, and am to give them away to two authors to-morrow ; and lord-treasurer has promised me a hundred pounds to reward some others. I found a letter on my table last night, to tell me, that poor little Harrison, the queen's secretary, that came lately from Utrecht with the Barrier Treaty, was ill, and desired to see me at night ; but it was late, and I could not go till to-day. I have often mentioned him in my letters, you may remember. **** I went in the morning, and found him mighty ill, and got thirty guineas for him from Lord Bolingbroke, and an order for a hundred pounds from the treasury to be paid him to-morrow ; and I have got him removed to Knightsbridge for the air. He has a fever and inflammation on his lungs ; but I hope will do well. Night, MD.

13. I was to see a poor poet, one Mr Diaper, in a nasty garret, very sick. I gave him twenty guineas from Lord Bolingbroke, and disposed the other sixty to two other authors, and desired a friend to receive the hundred pounds for poor Harrison, and will carry it to him to-morrow morning. I sent to see how he did, and he is extremely ill ; and I am very much afflicted for him, as he is my own creature, and in a very honourable post, and very worthy of it. I dined in the city. I am much concerned for this poor lad. His mother and

* He had omitted Thursday the fifth.

sister attend him, and he wants nothing. Night, dear MD.

14. I took Parnell this morning, and we walked to see poor Harrison. I had the hundred pounds in my pocket. I told Parnell I was afraid to knock at the door; my mind misgave me. I knocked, and his man in tears told me his master was dead an hour before. Think what grief this is to me! I went to his mother, and have been ordering things for his funeral with as little cost as possible, to-morrow at ten at night. Lord-treasurer was much concerned when I told him. I could not dine with lord-treasurer, nor any where else; but got a bit of meat toward evening. No loss ever grieved me so much: poor creature! Pray God Almighty bless poor MD. Adieu. I send this away to-night, and am sorry it must go while I am in so much grief.

LETTER LX.

London, Feb. 15, 1712-13.

I DINED to-day with Mr Rowe and a projector, who has been teasing me with twenty schemes to get grants; and I don't like one of them; and, besides, I was out of humour for the loss of poor Harrison. At ten this night I was at his funeral, which I ordered to be as private as possible. We had but one coach with four of us; and when it was carrying us home after the funeral, the braces broke; and we were forced to sit in it, and have it held up, till my man went for chairs, at eleven at

night in terrible rain. I am come home very melancholy, and will go to bed. Night, dearest MD.

16. I dined to-day with Lord Dupplin and some company to divert me ; but left them early, and have been reading a book for amusement. I shall never have courage again to care for making any body's fortune. The parliament meets to-morrow, and will be prorogued another fortnight, at which several of both parties were angry ; but it cannot be helped, though every thing about the peace is past all danger. I never saw such a continuance of rainy weather. We have not had two fair days together these ten weeks. I have not dined with lord-treasurer these four days, nor can I till Saturday ; for I have several engagements till then, and he will chide me to some purpose. I am perplexed with this hundred pounds of poor Harrison's, what to do with it. I cannot pay his relations till they administer, for he is much in debt ; but I will have the staff in my own hands, and venture nothing. Night, dear MD.

17. Lady Jersey and I dined by appointment to-day with Lord Bolingbroke. He is sending his brother to succeed Mr Harrison. It is the prettiest post in Europe for a young gentleman. I lost my money at ombre sadly ; I make a thousand blunders at it. I play but threepenny ombre ; but it is what you call running ombre. Lady Clarges, and a drab I hate, won a dozen shillings of me last night. The parliament was prorogued to-day ; and people grumble ; and the good of it is the peace cannot be finished by the time they meet, there are so many fiddling things to do. Is Ppt an ombre lady yet ? You know all the tricks of it now, I suppose. I reckon you have all your cards from France, for ours pay sixpence a pack taxes, which goes

deep to the box. I have given away all my Spa water, and take some nasty steel drops, and my head has been better this week past. I send every day to see how Miss Ashe does : she is very full, they say, but in no danger. I fear she will lose some of her beauty. The son lies out of the house. I wish he had them too, while he is so young.—Night, MD.

18. The Earl of Abingdon had been teasing me these three months to dine with him ; and this day was appointed about a week ago, and I named my company ; Lord Stawell, Colonel Disney, and Dr Arbuthnot ; but the two last slipped out their necks, and left Stawell and me to dine there. We did not dine till seven, because it is Ash Wednesday. We had nothing but fish, which Lord Stawell could not eat, and got a broiled leg of a turkey. Our wine was poison ; yet the puppy has twelve thousand pounds a year. His carps were raw, and his candles tallow. He shall not catch me in haste again, and every body has laughed at me for dining with him. I was to-day to let Harrison's mother know I could not pay till she administers ; which she will do. I believe she is an old devil, and her daughter a —— . There were more Whigs to-day at court than Tories. I believe they think the peace must be made, and so come to please the queen. She is still lame with the gout.

19. I was at court to-day, to speak to Lord Bolingbroke to look over Parnell's poem since it is corrected ; and Parnell and I dined with him, and he has shown him three or four more places to alter a little. Lady Bolingbroke came down to us while we were at dinner, and Parnell stared at her as if she were a goddess. I thought she was like Parnell's wife, and he thought so too. Parnell is much pleased with Lord Bolingbroke's

favour to him, and I hope it may one day turn to his advantage. His poem will be printed in a few days. Our weather continues as fresh raining as if it had not rained at all. I sat to-night at Lady Masham's, where lord-treasurer came and scolded me for not dining with him. I told him, I could not till Saturday. I have staid there till past twelve; so night, dear MD.

20. Lady Jersey, Lady Catherine Hyde,* the Spanish ambassador, the Duke d'Etrées, another Spaniard, and I, dined to-day by appointment with Lord Bolingbroke; but they fell a drinking so many Spanish healths in champaign, that I stole away to the ladies, and drank tea till eight; and then went and lost my money at ombre with Sir Andrew Fountaine, who has a very bad leg. Miss Ashe is past all danger; and her eye, which was lately bad, (I suppose one effect of her distemper,) is now better. I do not let the bishop see me, nor shall this good while. Good-lack! when I came home, I warrant, I found a letter from MD, No. 38; and you write so small now-a-days. I hope your poor eyes are better. Well, this shall go to-morrow se'ennight, with a bill for Me. I will speak to Mr Griffin to-morrow, about Ppt's brother Filby, and desire, whether he deserves or no, that his employment may be mended, that is to say, if I see Griffin; otherwise not; and I'll answer MD's letter, when I Pdfr think fit. Night, MD.

21. Methinks I writ a little saucy last night. I mean the last ****. I saw Griffin at court. He says he knows nothing of a salt-work at Recton; but that he will give Filby a better employment, and desires Filby

* Afterward Duchess of Queensberry.

will write to him. If I knew where to write to Filby, I would ; but pray do you. Bid him make no mention of you ; but only let Mr Griffin know, “ that he has had the honour to be recommended by Dr Swift, &c. ; that he will endeavour to deserve,” &c. ; and if you dictated a whole letter for him, it would be better ; I hope he can write and spell well. I’ll inquire for a direction to Griffin before I finish this. I dined with lord-treasurer and seven lords to-day. You know Saturday is his great day. I sat with them till eight, and then came home, and have been writing a letter to Mrs Davis, at York. She took care to have a letter delivered for me at lord-treasurer’s ; for I would not own one she sent by post. She reproaches me for not writing to her these four years ; and I have honestly told her, it was my way never to write to those whom I am never likely to see, unless I can serve them, which I cannot her, &c. Davis the schoolmaster’s widow. Night, MD.

22. I dined to-day at Lord Orkney’s, with the Duke of Ormond and Sir Thomas Hanmer. * Have you ever heard of the latter ? He married the Duchess of Grafton in his youth, (she dined with us too.) He is the most considerable man in the House of Commons. He went last spring to Flanders, with the Duke of Ormond ; from thence to France, and was going to Italy ; but the ministry sent for him, and he has been come over about ten days. He is much out of humour with

* Sir Thomas Hanmer of Mildenhall, in Suffolk, Bart. He married Isabella, daughter and heir of Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and relict of Henry, first Duke of Grafton, natural son of Charles II, who was killed before Cork in 1690.

things : he thinks the peace is kept off too long ; and is full of fears and doubts. It is thought he is designed for secretary of state, instead of Lord Dartmouth. We have been acquainted these two years ; and I intend, in a day or two, to have an hour's talk with him on affairs. I saw the Bishop of Clogher at court ; Miss is recovering. I know not how much she will be marked. The queen is slowly mending of her gout, and intends to be brought in a chair to parliament when it meets, which will be March 3 ; for I suppose they will prorogue no more ; yet the peace will not be signed then, and we apprehend the Tories themselves will many of them be discontented. Night, dear MD.

23. It was ill weather to-day, and I dined with Sir Andrew Fountaine, and in the evening played at ombre with him and the provost, and won twenty-five shillings ; so I have recovered myself pretty well. Dilly has been dunning me to see Fanny Manley ; but I have not yet been able to do it. Miss Ashe is now quite out of danger ; and they hope will not be much marked. I cannot tell how to direct to Griffin ; and think he lives in Bury Street, near St James's Street, hard by me ; but I suppose your brother may direct to him to the salt-office, and, as I remember, he knows his Christian name, because he sent it me in the list of the commissioners. Night, dear MD.

24. I walked this morning to Chelsea, to see Dr Atterbury, dean of Christchurch. I had business with him about entering Mr Fitz-Maurice, Lord Kerry's son, into his college ; and Lady Kerry is a great favourite of mine. Lord Harley, Lord Dupplin, young Bromley the speaker's son, and I, dined with Dr Stratford and some other clergymen ; but I left them at

seven, to go to Lady Jersey, to see Monteleon the Spanish ambassador play at ombre. Lady Jersey was abroad, and I chid the servants, and made a rattle; but since I came home, she sent me a message, that I was mistaken, and that the meeting is to be to-morrow. I have a worse memory than when I left you, and every day forget appointments; but here my memory was by chance too good. But I'll go to-morrow; for Lady Catherine Hyde and Lady Bolingbroke are to be there by appointment, and I lifted up my periwig, and all, to make a figure. Well, who can help it? Not I, vow to Heaven! Night, MD.

25. Lord-treasurer met me last night at Lord Masham's, and thanked me for my company in a jeer, because I had not dined with him in three days. He chides me if I stay away but two days together. What will this come to? Nothing. My grandmother used to say,

More of your lining,
And less of your dining.

However, I dined with him, and could hardly leave him at eight, to go to Lady Jersey's, where five or six foreign ministers were, and as many ladies. Monteleon played like the English, and cried gacco, and knocked his nuckles for trump, and played at small games like Ppt. Lady Jersey whispered me to stay, and sup with the ladies when the fellows were gone; but they played till eleven, and I would not stay. I think this letter must go on Saturday; that's certain; and it is not half full yet. Lady Catherine Hyde had a mighty mind I should be acquainted with Lady Dalkeith, her sister, the Duke

of Monmouth's eldest son's widow, * who was of the company to-night; but I did not like her; she paints too much. Night, MD.

26. This day our society met at the Duke of Ormond's; but I had business that called me another way; so I sent my excuses, and dined privately with a friend. Besides, Sir Thomas Hanmer whispered me last night at Lady Jersey's, that I must attend lord-treasurer and Duke of Ormond at supper, at his house to-night; which I did at eleven, and staid till one, so you may be sure it is late enough. There was the Duchess of Grafton, and the duke her son; nine of us in all. Duke of Ormond chid me for not being at the society to-day, and said sixteen were there. I said I never knew sixteen people good company in my life; no, faith, nor eight neither. We have no news in this town at all. I wonder why I don't write you news. I know less of what passes than any body, because I go to no coffee-house, nor see any but ministers, and such people; and ministers never talk politics in conversation. The Whigs are forming great schemes against the meeting of parliament, which will be next Tuesday, I still think, without fail; and we hope to hear by then that the peace is ready to sign. The queen's gout mends daily. Night, MD.

27. I passed a very insipid day, and dined privately with a friend in the neighbourhood. Did I tell you that I have a very fine picture of Lady Orkney,† an original, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, three quarters length? I

* Lady Henrietta Hyde, mother to Francis, second Duke of Buccleuch.

† Dr Swift bequeathed this picture to John Earl of Orrery, who married Lady Orkney's daughter.

have it now at home, with a fine frame. Lord Bolingbroke and Lady Masham have promised to sit for me; but I despair of lord-treasurer; only I hope he will give me a copy, and then I shall have all the pictures of those I really love here; just half a dozen; only I will make lord-keeper give me his print in a frame. This letter must go to-morrow, because of sending Me a bill; else it should not till next week, I assure you. I have little to do now with my pen; for my grand business* stops till they are more pressing, and till something or other happens; and I believe I shall return with disgust to finish it, it is so very laborious. Sir Thomas Hanmer has my papers now. You are now at ombre with the dean, always on Friday night with Mrs Walls. Pray don't play at small games. I stood by, the other night, while the Duke d'Etrées lost six times with manilio, basto, and three small trumps; and Lady Jersey won above twenty pounds. Night, dear MD.

28. I was at court to-day, when the Abbé Gautier whispered me, that a courier was just come with an account that the French king had consented to all the queen's demands, and his consent was carried to Utrecht, and the peace will be signed in a few days. I suppose the general peace cannot be so soon ready; but that is no matter. The news presently ran about the court. I saw the queen carried out in her chair, to take the air in the garden. I met Griffin at court, and he told me that orders were sent to examine Filby; and, if he be fit, to make him (I think he called it) an assistant; I don't know what, supervisor, I think; but it is some employment a good deal better than his own. The parlia-

* His History of the Peace of Utrecht.

ment will have another short prorogation, though it is not known yet. I dined with lord-treasurer and his Saturday company, and left him at eight to put this in the post-office time enough. And now I must bid you farewell, dearest rogues. God bless dear MD; and love Pdfr. Farewell, MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LXI.

London, March 1, 1712-13.

IT is out of my head whether I answered all your letter in my last yesterday or no. I think I was in haste, and could not: but now I see I answered a good deal of it; no, only about your brother, and Me's bill. I dined with Lady Orkney, and we talked politics till eleven at night; and, as usual, found every thing wrong, and put ourselves out of humour. Yes, I have Lady Giffard's picture sent me by your mother. It is boxed up at a place where my other things are. I have goods in two or three places; and when I leave a lodging, I box up the books I get, (for I always get some,) and come naked into a new lodging; and so on. Talk not to me of deaneries; I know less of that than ever by much. Night, MD.

2. I went into the city to see Pat Rolt, who lodges with a city cousin, a daughter of cousin Cleve; (you are much the wiser.) I had never been at her house before. My he-cousin Thomson the butcher is dead, or dying. I dined with my printer, and walked home, and went to sit with Lady Clarges. I found four of them at whist;

Lady Godolphin was one. I sat by her, and talked of her cards, &c. but she would not give one look, nor say a word to me. She refused some time ago to be acquainted with me. You know she is Lord Marlborough's eldest daughter. She is a fool for her pains, and I'll pull her down. What can I do for Dr Smith's daughter's husband? I have no personal credit with any of the commissioners. I will speak to Keatley; but I believe it will signify nothing. In the customs people must rise by degrees, and he must at first take what is very low, if he be qualified for that. Ppt mistakes me; I am not angry at your recommending any one to me, provided you will take my answer. Some things are in my way, and then I serve those I can. But people will not distinguish, but take things ill, when I have no power; but Ppt is wiser. And employments in general are very hard to be got. Night, MD.

3. I dined to-day with lord-treasurer, who chid me for my absence, which was only from Saturday last. The parliament was again prorogued for a week, and I suppose the peace will be ready by then, and the queen will be able to be brought to the house, and make her speech. I saw Dr Griffith two or three months ago, at a Latin play at Westminster; but did not speak to him. I hope he will not die; I should be sorry for Ppt's sake; he is very tender of her. I have long lost all my colds, and the weather mends a little. I take some steel drops, and my head is pretty well. I walk when I can, but am grown very idle; and, not finishing my thing, I ramble abroad and play at ombre. I shall be more careful in my physic than Mrs Price: 'tis not a farthing matter her death, I think; and so I say no more to-night, but will read a dull book, and go sleep. Night, dear MD.

4. Mr Ford has been this half year inviting me to dine at his lodgings: so I did to-day, and brought the provost and Dr Parnell with me, and my friend Lewis was there. Parnell went away, and the other three played at ombre, and I looked on; which I love, and would not play. Tisdall is a pretty fellow, as you say; and when I come back to Ireland with nothing, he will condole with me with abundance of secret pleasure. I believe I told you what he wrote to me, "That I have saved England, and he Ireland;" but I can bear that. I have learned to hear and see, and say nothing. I was to see the Duchess of Hamilton to-day, and met Blith of Ireland just going out of her house into his coach. I asked her how she came to receive young fellows. It seems he had a ball in the Duke of Hamilton's house when the duke died; and the duchess got an advertisement put in the Postboy, reflecting on the ball, because the Marlborough daughters were there; and Blith came to beg the duchess's pardon, and clear himself. He is a sad dog. Night, dear MD.

5. Lady Masham has miscarried; but is almost well again. I have paid many visits to-day. I met Blith at the Duke of Ormond's; and he begged me to carry him to the Duchess of Hamilton, to beg her pardon again. I did on purpose to see how the blunderbuss behaved himself; but I begged the duchess to use him mercifully, for she is the devil of a teaser. The good of it is, she ought to beg his pardon, for he meant no harm; yet she would not allow him to put in an advertisement to clear himself from hers, though hers was all a lie. He appealed to me, and I gravely gave it against him. I was at court to-day, and the foreign ministers have got a trick of employing me to speak for them to lord-treasu-

rer and Lord Bolingbroke ; which I do when the case is reasonable. The college need not fear ; I will not be their governor. I dined with Sir Thomas Hanmer and his duchess. The Duke of Ormond was there, but we parted soon, and I went to visit Lord Pembroke for the first time ; but it was to see some curious books. Lord Cholmondeley came in ; but I would not talk to him, though he made many advances. I hate the scoundrel for all he is your Griffith's friend.—Yes, yes, I am abused enough, if that be all. Night, MD.

6. I was to-day at an auction of pictures with Pratt, and laid out two pounds five shillings for a picture of Titian, and if it were a Titian it would be worth twice as many pounds. * If I am cheated, I'll part with it to Lord Masham : if it be a bargain, I'll keep it to myself. That's my conscience. But I made Pratt buy several pictures for Lord Masham. Pratt is a great virtuoso that way. I dined with lord-treasurer, but made him go to court at eight. I always tease him to be gone. I thought to have made Parnell dine with him, but he was ill ; his head is out of order like mine, but more constant, poor boy !—I was at lord-treasurer's levee with the provost, to ask a book for the college.—I never go to his levee, unless it be to present somebody.

7. Yes, I hope Leigh will soon be gone, a p — on him ! I met him once, and he talked gravely to me of not seeing the Irish bishops here, and the Irish gentlemen ; but I believe my answers fretted him enough. I would not dine with lord-treasurer to-day, though it was Saturday,

* Admitting the picture to have been a tolerable copy, we have here another curious instance of the low price of paintings, contrasted with that of the present day.

(for he has engaged me for to-morrow ;) but went and dined with Lord Masham, and played at ombre, sixpenny running ombre, for three hours. There were three voles against me, and I was once a great loser, but came off for three shillings and sixpence. One may easily lose five guineas at it. Lady Orkney is gone out of town to-day, and I could not see her for laziness, but wrote to her. She has left me some physic.—I knew MD's politics before, and I think it pretty extraordinary, and a great compliment to you, and I believe never three people conversed so much with so little politics. I avoid all conversation with the other party; it is not to be borne, and I am sorry for it. O yes, things are very dear. DD must come in at last with her two eggs a penny. There the provost was well applied. Parvisol has sent me a bill of fifty pounds, as I ordered him, which, I hope, will serve me, and bring me over. Pray God MD does not be delayed for it; but I have had very little from him this long time. I was not at court to-day; a wonder! Night, dear MD. Love Pdfr.

8. You must know, I give chocolate almost every day to two or three people that I suffer to come to see me in a morning. My man begins to lie pretty well. 'Tis nothing for people to be denied ten times. My man knows all I will see, and denies me to every body else. This is the day of the queen's coming to the crown, and the day lord-treasurer was stabbed by Guiscard. I was at court, where every body had their birth-day clothes on, and I dined with lord-treasurer, who was very fine. He showed me some of the queen's speech, which I corrected in several places, and penned the vote of address of thanks for the speech; but I was of opinion the House should not sit on Tuesday next, unless they hear the

peace is signed ; that is, provided they are sure it will be signed the week after, and so have one scolding for all. Night, MD.

9. Lord-treasurer would have had me dine with him to-day ; he desired me last night, but I refused, because he would not keep the day of his stabbing with all the cabinet, as he intended : so I dined with my friend Lewis ; and the provost and Parnell, and Ford, were with us. I lost sixteen shillings at ombre ; I don't like it. At night Lewis brought us word, that the parliament does not sit to-morrow. I hope they are sure of the peace by next week, and then they are right in my opinion : otherwise I think they have done wrong, and might have sat three weeks ago. People will grumble ; but lord-treasurer cares not a rush. Lord-keeper is suddenly taken ill of a quinsy, and some lords are commissioned, I think lord-treasurer, to prorogue the parliament in his stead. You never saw a town so full of ferment and expectation. Mr Pope has published a fine poem, called Windsor Forest.* Read it. Night, MD.

10. I was early this morning to see Lord Bolingbroke. I find he was of opinion the parliament should sit ; and says, they are not sure the peace will be signed next week. The prorogation is to this day se'ennight. I went to look on a library I am going to buy, if we can agree. I have offered a hundred and twenty pounds, and will give ten pounds more. Lord Bolingbroke will lend me the money. I was two hours poring over the books. I will sell some of them, and keep the rest ; but I doubt they won't take the money. I dined in the

* This is the first time that the name of Pope occurs in the Journal. He was now in the act of emerging from obscurity.

city, and sate an hour in the evening with lord-treasurer, who was in very good humour; but reproached me for not dining with him yesterday and to-day. What will all this come to? Lord-keeper had a pretty good night, and is better. I was in pain for him. **** Night, MD.

11. I was this morning to visit the Duke and Duchess of Ormond, and the Duchess of Hamilton, and went with the provost to an auction of pictures, and laid out fourteen shillings. I am in for it, if I had money; but I doubt I shall be undone; for Sir Andrew Fountaine invited the provost and me to dine with him, and play at ombre, when I fairly lost fourteen shillings. It won't do; and I shall be out of conceit with play this good while. I am come home; and it is late, and my puppy let out my fire, and I am gone to bed, and writing there, and it is past twelve a good while. Went out four matadores and a trump in black, and yet was beasted. Very sad, faith! Night, my dear rogues, MD.

12. I was at another auction of pictures to-day, and a great auction it was. I made Lord Masham lay out forty pounds. There were pictures sold of twice as much value a-piece. Our society met to-day at the Duke of Beaufort's: a prodigious fine dinner, which I hate; but we did some business. Our printer was to attend us, as usual; and the chancellor of the exchequer* sent the author of the Examiner† twenty guineas. He is an ingenious fellow, but the most confounded vain coxcomb in the world, so that I dare not let him see me, nor am acquainted with him. I had much discourse with the Duke of Ormond this morn-

* Robert Benson, Esq.

† Mr Oldisworth.

ing, and am driving some points to secure *****. I left the society at seven. I can't drink now at all with any pleasure. I love white Portugal wine better than claret, champaign, or burgundy. I have a sad vulgar appetite. I remember Ppt used to maunder, when I came from a great dinner, and DD had but a bit of mutton. I cannot endure above one dish; nor ever could since I was a boy, and loved stuffing. It was a fine day, which is a rarity with us, I assure you. Never fair two days together. Night, dear MD.

13. I had a rabble of Irish parsons this morning drinking my chocolate. I cannot remember appointments. I was to have supped last night with the Swedish envoy at his house, and some other company, but forgot it; and he rallied me to-day at Lord Bolingbroke's, who excused me, saying, the envoy ought not to be angry, because I serve lord-treasurer and him the same way. For that reason, I very seldom promise to go any where. I dined with lord-treasurer, who chid me for being absent so long, as he always does if I miss a day. I sat three hours this evening with Lady Jersey; but the first two hours she was at ombre with some company. I left lord-treasurer at eight; I fancied he was a little thoughtful, for he was playing with an orange by fits, which, I told him, among common men looked like the spleen. This letter shall not go to-morrow; no haste, young women; nothing that presses. I promised but once in three weeks, and I am better than my word. I wish the peace may be ready, I mean that we have notice it is signed, before Tuesday; otherwise the grumbling will much increase. Night, dear MD.

14. It was a lovely day this, and I took the advantage of walking a good deal in the Park, before I went

to court. Colonel Disney, * one of our society, is ill of a fever, and, we fear, in great danger. We all love him mightily, and he would be a great loss. I doubt I shall not buy the library ; for a roguish bookseller has offered sixty pounds more than I designed to give ; so you see I meant to have a good bargain. I dined with lord-treasurer and his Saturday company ; but there were but seven at table. Lord Peterborow is ill, and spits blood, with a bruise he got before he left England ; but, I believe, an Italian lady he has brought over is the cause that his illness returns. You know old Lady Bellasis is dead at last ? She has left Lord Berkeley of Stratton one of her executors, and it will be of great advantage to him ; they say above ten thousand pounds. I staid with lord-treasurer upon business, after the company was gone ; but I dare not tell you upon what. My letters would be good memoirs, if I durst venture to say a thousand things that pass ; but I hear so much of letters opening at your post-office, that I am fearful, &c. and so good night. Love Pdfr and MD.

15. Lord-treasurer engaged me to dine with him again to-day, and I had ready what he wanted ; but he would not see it, but put me off till to-morrow. The queen goes to chapel now. She is carried in an open chair, and will be well enough to go to parliament on Tuesday, if the Houses meet, which is not yet certain ; neither, indeed, can the ministers themselves tell ; for it depends on winds and weather, and circumstances of negotiation. However, we go on as if it was certainly to meet ; and I am to be at lord-treasurer's to-morrow,

* A constant companion of General Withers, and commonly called " Duke Disney."

upon that supposition, to settle some things relating that way. Ppt may understand me. The doctors tell me, that if poor Colonel Disney does not get some sleep to-night, he must die. What care you? Ah! but I do care. He is one of our society; a fellow of abundance of humour; an old battered rake; but very honest: not an old man, but an old rake. It was he that said of Jenny Kingdom, the maid of honour, who is a little old, "That, since she could not get a husband, the queen should give her a brevet to act as a married woman." You don't understand this. They give brevets to majors and captains to act as colonels in the army. Brevets are commissions. Ask soldiers, dear sirrahs. Night, MD.

16. I was at lord-treasurer's before he came; and, as he entered, he told me the parliament was prorogued till Thursday se'ennight. They have had some expresses, by which they count that the peace may be signed by that time; at least, that France, Holland, and we, will sign some articles, by which we shall engage to sign the peace when it is ready: but Spain has no minister there; for Monteleon, who is to be their ambassador at Utrecht, is not yet gone from hence; and till he is there, the Spaniards can sign no peace: and one thing take notice, that a general peace can hardly be finished these two months, so as to be proclaimed here; for, after signing, it must be ratified; that is, confirmed by the several princes at their courts, which to Spain will cost a month; for we must have notice that it is ratified in all courts before we can proclaim it. So be not in too much haste. Night, MD.

17. The Irish folks were disappointed that the parliament did not meet to-day, because it was St Patrick's

day ; and the Mall was so full of crosses, that I thought all the world was Irish. Miss Ashe is almost quite well, and I see the bishop, but shall not yet go to his house.* I dined again with lord-treasurer; but the parliament being prorogued, I must keep what I have till next week : for I believe he will not see it till just the evening before the session. He has engaged me to dine with him again to-morrow, though I did all I could to put it off; but I don't care to disoblige him. **** Night, MD.

18. I have now dined six days successively with lord-treasurer ; but to-night I stole away while he was talking with somebody else, and so am at liberty to-morrow. There was a flying report of a general cessation of arms : every body had it at court ; but, I believe, there is nothing in it. I asked a certain French minister how things went ? And he whispered me in French, “ Your plenipotentiaries and ours play the fool.” None of us, indeed, approve of the conduct of either at this time ; but lord-treasurer was in full good humour for all that. He had invited a good many of his relations ; and, of a dozen at table, they were all of the Harley family but myself. Disney is recovering, though you don't care a straw. Dilly murders us with his *if* puns. You know them. **** Night, MD.

19. The Bishop of Clogher has made an *if* pun, that he is mighty proud of, and designs to send it over to his brother Tom. But Sir Andrew Fountaine has wrote to Tom Ashe last post, and told him the pun, and desired him to send it over to the bishop as his own ; and, if it succeeds, it will be a pure bite. The bishop will tell it us as a wonder, that he and his brother should jump so

* Swift greatly dreaded the small-pox.

exactly. I'll tell you the pun ;—if there was a hackney coach at Mr Pooley's door, what town in Egypt would it be? Why, it would be Hecatompolis ; *Hack at Tom Pooley's*. Silly, says Ppt. I dined with a private friend to-day ; for our society, I told you, meet but once a fortnight. I have not seen Fanny Manley yet ; I can't help it. Lady Orkney is come to town : why, she was at her country house ; what care you? Night, MD.

20. Dilly read me a letter to-day from Ppt. She seems to have scratched her head when she wrote it. 'Tis a sad thing to write to people without taste. There you say, you hear I was going to Bath. No such thing ; I am pretty well, I thank God. The town is now sending me to Savoy. Forty people have given me joy of it, yet there is not the least truth that I know in it. I was at an auction of pictures, but bought none. I was so glad of my liberty, that I would dine no where ; but, the weather being fine, I sauntered into the city, and ate a bit about five, and then supped at Mr Burke's, your accountant-general, who had been engaging me this month. The Bishop of Clogher was to have been there, but was hindered by Lord Paget's funeral. The provost and I sat till one o'clock ; and, if that be not late, I don't know what is late. Parnell's poem will be published on Monday, and to-morrow I design he shall present it lord-treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke at court. The poor lad is almost always out of order with his head. Burke's wife is his sister. She has a little of the pert Irish way. Night, MD.

21. Morning. I will now finish my letter ; for company will come, and a stir, and a clutter ; and I'll keep the letter in my pocket, and give it into the post myself. I must go to court, and you know on Saturday

I dine with lord-treasurer, of course. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LXII.

London, March 21, 1712-13.

I GAVE your letter in this night. I dined with lord-treasurer to-day, and find he has been at a meeting at Lord Halifax's house, with four principal Whigs; but he is resolved to begin a speech against them when the parliament sits; and I have begged that the ministry may have a meeting on purpose to settle that matter, and let us be the attackers; and I believe it will come to something, for the Whigs intend to attack the ministers: and if, instead of that, the ministers attack the Whigs, it will be better: and farther, I believe we shall attack them on those very points they intend to attack us. The parliament will be again prorogued for a fortnight, because of Passion-week. I forgot to tell you, that Mr Griffin has given Ppt's brother a new employment, about ten pounds a-year better than his former; but more remote, and consequently cheaper. I wish I could have done better, and hope that you will take what can be done in good part, and that Ppt's brother will not dislike it.—
Night, dearest MD.

22. I dined to-day with lord-steward.* There Frank Annesley (a parliament-man) told me he had heard that I had wrote to my friends in Ireland to keep firm to the

* Earl Poulet.

Whig interest; for that lord-treasurer would certainly declare for it after the peace. Annesley said twenty people had told him this. You must know this is what they endeavour to report of lord-treasurer, that he designs to declare for the Whigs; and a Scotch fellow has wrote the same to Scotland; and his meeting with those lords gives occasion to such reports. Let me henceforth call lord-treasurer Eltee, because possibly my letters may be opened. Pray remember Eltee. You know the reason. L. T. and Eltee are pronounced the same way. Stay, it is now five weeks since I had a letter from MD. I allow you six. You see why I cannot come over the beginning of April; but as hope saved, it is not Pdfr's fault. Whoever has to do with this ministry can fix no time: but as hope saved, it is not Pdfr's fault. ****

23. I dined to-day at Sir Thomas Hanmer's, by an old appointment: there was the Duke of Ormond, and Lord and Lady Orkney. I left them at six. Every body is as sour as vinegar. I endeavour to keep a firm friendship between the Duke of Ormond and Eltee. You know who Eltee is, (or have you forgot already?) I have great designs, if I can compass them; but delay is rooted in Eltee's heart; yet the fault is not altogether there, that things are no better. Here is the cursedest libel in verse come out that ever was seen, called the Ambassadress; * it is very dull too; it has been

* It was entitled, "The British Ambassadress's Speech to the French King." For publishing it, Mr William Hart, the printer of the Flying Post, was tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, June 27, 1713, and sentenced to stand twice in the pillory, to pay a fine of L. 50 to her majesty, to be imprisoned two years, and till he should pay the said fine; and to find sufficient sureties for his good behaviour during life.

printed three or four different ways, and is handed about, but not sold. It abuses the queen horribly. The Examiner * has cleared me to-day of being author of his paper, and done it with great civilities to me. I hope it will stop people's mouths; if not, they must go on and be hanged, I care not. 'Tis terrible rainy weather, I'll go sleep. Night, dearest MD.

24. It rained all this day, and ruined me in coach-hire. I went to Colonel Disney, who is past danger. Then I visited lord-keeper, who was at dinner; but I would not dine with him, but drove to lord-treasurer, (Eltee I mean;) paid the coachman, and went in; but he dined abroad: so I was forced to call the coachman

* In the original Examiner, Vol. III. No. 35, the passage is as follows: "They have been a long time laying a load upon a gentleman of the first character for learning, good sense, wit, and more virtues than even they can set off and illustrate by all the opposition and extremes of vice, which are the compounds of their party. He is indeed fully accomplished to be mortally hated by them, and they needed not to charge him with writing the Examiner, as if that were a sufficient revenge; in which they show as little judgment as truth. I here pronounce him clear of that imputation; and, out of pure regard to justice, strip myself of all the honour that lucky untruth did this paper, reserving to myself the entertaining reflection, that I was once taken for a man who has a thousand other recommendations, besides the malice of the worst men, to make him loved and esteemed by the best: This is the second time I have humoured that party, by publicly declaring who is not the author of the Examiner. I will lend them no more light, because they do not love it. I could only wish, that their invectives against that gentleman had been considerable enough to call forth his public resentments; and I stand amazed at their folly, in provoking so much ruin to their party. Their intellectuals must be as stupid as their consciences, not to dread the terrors of his pen, though they met him with all that spite to his person, which they ever expressed against his order."

again, and went to Lord Bolingbroke's. He dined abroad too; and at Lord Dupplin's I alighted, and by good luck got a dinner there, and then went to the Latin play at Westminster school, acted by the boys; and lord-treasurer (Eltee I mean again) honoured them with his presence. Lady Masham's eldest son, about two years old, is ill, and I am afraid will not live: she is full of grief, and I pity and am angry with her. Four shillings to-day in coach-hire; faith, it won't do. Our peace will certainly be ready by Thursday fortnight; but our plenipotentiaries were to blame that it was not done already. They thought their powers were not full enough to sign the peace, unless every prince was ready, which cannot yet be; for Spain has no minister yet at Utrecht; but now ours have new orders. Night, MD.

25. Weather worse than ever; terrible rain all day, but I was resolved I would spend no more money. I went to an auction of pictures with Dr Pratt, and there met the Duke of Beaufort, who promised to come with me to court, but did not. So a coach I got, and went to court, and did some little business there, but was forced to go home; for you must understand I take a little physic over night, which works me next day. Lady Orkney is my physician. It is hiera picra, two spoonfuls, devilish stuff! I thought to have dined with Eltee, but would not, merely to save a shilling; but I dined privately with a friend, and played at ombre, and won six shillings. Here are several people of quality lately dead of the small-pox. I have not yet seen Miss Ashe, but hear she is well. The Bishop of Clogher has bought abundance of pictures, and Dr Pratt has got

him very good pennyworths. I can get no walks, the weather is so bad. Is it so with you? Night, dear MD.

26. Though it was shaving-day, head and beard, yet I was out early to see Lord Bolingbroke, and talk over affairs with him; and then I went to the Duke of Ormond, and so to court, where the ministers did not come, because the parliament was prorogued till this day fortnight. We had terrible rain and hail to-day. Our society met this day, but I left them before seven, and went to Sir Andrew Fountaine, and played at ombre with him and Sir Thomas Clarges, till ten, and then went to Sir Thomas Hanmer. His wife, the Duchess of Grafton, left us after a little while, and I staid with him about an hour, upon some affairs, &c. Lord Bolingbroke left us at the society before I went; for there is an express from Utrecht, but I know not yet what it contains; only I know the ministers expect the peace will be signed in a week, which is a week before the session. Night, MD.

27. Parnell's poem is mightily esteemed; but poetry sells ill. I am plagued with that **** poor Harrison's mother; you would laugh to see how cautious I am of paying her the L. 100 I received for her son from the treasury. I have asked every creature I know, whether I may do it safely; yet durst not venture, till my lord-keeper assured me there was no danger. Yet I have not paid her, but will in a day or two: though I have a great mind to stay till Ppt sends me her opinion, because Ppt is a great lawyer. I dined to-day with a mixture of people at a Scotchman's, who made the invitation to Mr Lewis and me, and has some design upon us, which we know very well. I went afterward to see

a famous moving picture, and I never saw any thing so pretty. * You see a sea ten inches wide, a town at the other hand, and ships sailing in the sea, and discharging their cannon. You see a great sky, with moon and stars, &c. I am a fool. Night, dear MD.

28. I had a mighty levee to-day. I deny myself to every body, except about half a dozen, and they were all here, and Mr Addison was one. I had chocolate twice, which I don't like. Our rainy weather continues. Coach-hire goes deep. I dined with Eltee and his Saturday company, as usual, and could not get away till nine. Lord Peterborow was making long harangues, and Eltee kept me in spite. Then I went to see the Bishop of Ossory, who had engaged me in the morning; he is going to Ireland. The Bishop of Killaloe and Tom Leigh were with us. The latter had wholly changed his style, by seeing how the bishops behaved themselves, and he seemed to think me one of more importance than I really am. I put the ill conduct of the bishops about the first-fruits, with relation to Eltee and me, strongly upon Killaloe, and showed how it had hindered me from getting a better thing for them, called the crown rents, which the queen had promised. He had nothing to say, but was humble, and desired my interest in that and some other things. This letter

* There were several pictures exhibited about this time, on a similar principle. One with "many curious and wonderfully pleasing and surprising motions in it, all natural," is advertised in the *TATLER*, No. 113, to be seen at the Grecian's Head coffee-house. The editor of the *Tatler*, 1786, says there are in Bagford's collection in the Museum, several curious original hand-bills, minutely describing exhibitions of this nature.—Vol. V. p. 419.

is half done in a week : I believe you will have it next. Night, MD.

29. I have been employed in endeavouring to save one of your junior fellows, * who came over here for a dispensation from taking orders, and, in soliciting it, has run out his time, and now his fellowship is void, if the college pleases, unless the queen suspends the execution, and gives him time to take orders. I spoke to all the ministers yesterday about it ; but they say the queen is angry, and thought it was a trick to deceive her ; and she is positive, and so the man must be ruined, for I cannot help him. I never saw him in my life ; but the case was so hard, I could not forbear interposing. Your government recommended him to the Duke of Ormond, and he thought they would grant it ; and by the time it was refused, the fellowship by rigour is forfeited. I dined with Dr Arbuthnot (one of my brothers) at his lodgings in Chelsea, and was there at chapel ; and the altar put me in mind of Tisdall's outlandish mould at your hospital for the soldiers. I was not at court to-day, and I hear the queen was not at church. Perhaps the gout has seized her again. Terrible rain all day. Have you such weather ? Night, MD.

30. Morning. I was naming some time ago, to a certain person, another certain person, that was very deserving, and poor and sickly ; and the other, that first certain person, gave me a hundred pounds to give the other, which I have not yet done. The person who is to have it never saw the giver, nor expects one farthing,

* Mr Charles Grattan, afterwards master of the free school at Enniskillen, founded by Erasmus Smythe, Esq.

nor has the least knowledge or imagination of it ; so I believe it will be a very agreeable surprise ; for I think it is a handsome present enough. At night I dined in the city, at Pontack's, with Lord Dupplin,* and some others. We were treated by one Colonel Cleland, † who has a mind to be governor of Barbadoes, and is laying these long traps for me and others, to engage our interest for him. He is a true Scotchman. I paid the hundred pounds this evening, and it was a great surprise to the receiver. We reckon the peace is now signed, and that we shall have it in three days. I believe it is pretty sure. Night, MD.

31. I thought to-day on Ppt when she told me she supposed I was acquainted with the steward, when I was giving myself airs of being at some lord's house. Sir Andrew Fontaine invited the Bishop of Clogher and me, and some others, to dine where he did ; and he carried us to the Duke of Kent's, who was gone out of town ; but the steward treated us nobly, and showed us the fine pictures, &c. I have not yet seen Miss Ashe. I wait till she has been abroad, and taken the air. This

* Then one of the tellers of the exchequer.

† To whom Pope inscribed the letter preliminary of the Dunciad. He was the son of Colonel Cleland, a Presbyterian poet, who wrote several hudibrastic satires in the style of Cleveland, against the persecutions of his sect during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. After the Revolution, he became colonel of what was called the Cameronian regiment, at the head of which he was killed at Dunkeld in 1689. His son, here mentioned, was the intimate of Pope, Swift, and the wits of Queen Anne's time ; and had himself a son, too well known as the author of the most infamous book in the English language. In this singular pedigree, a fanatic poet begets a free-living wit, and he, a gentleman of character and fashion, has a son who merited the pillory.

evening Lady Masham, Dr Arbuthnot, and I, were contriving a lie for to-morrow, that Mr Noble,* who was hanged last Saturday, was recovered by his friends, and then seized again by the sheriff, and is now in a messenger's hands at the Black Swan in Holborn. We are all to send to our friends, to know whether they have heard any thing of it, and so we hope it will spread. However, we shall do our endeavours; nothing shall be wanting on our parts, and leave the rest to fortune. Night, MD.

April 1. We had no success in our story, though I sent my man to several houses, to inquire among the footmen, without letting him into the secret; but I doubt my colleagues did not contribute as they ought. Parnell and I dined with Dartineuf to-day. You have heard of Dartineuf: I have told you of Dartineuf. After dinner we all went to Lord Bolingbroke's, who had desired me to dine with him; but I would not, because I heard it was to look over a dull poem of one parson Trap, upon the peace. The Swedish envoy told me to-day at court, that he was in great apprehensions about his master; and indeed we are afraid that prince †

* Richard Noble, an attorney, son of the keeper of a coffee-house at Bath. He prevailed on the wife of John Sayer, Esq. a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, to elope with him. The injured husband, with the assistance of peace-officers, broke into the apartment in which his wife was in bed with her seducer, and received a mortal wound by Mr Noble's sword. The murderer in vain endeavoured to escape by the window, was seized, tried, condemned, and executed. From the profession of the gallant in *Love-a-la-Mode*, and the dramatis personæ in the *Bagnio* scene, it would seem Hogarth had this remarkable story in his mind at the time.—See Noble's case in *State Trials*, Vol. IX.

† Charles the Twelfth.

is dead among those Turkish dogs. I prevailed on Lord Bolingbroke to invite Mr Addison to dine with him on Good Friday. I suppose we shall be mighty mannerly. Addison is to have a play on Friday in Easter week : 'tis a tragedy, called Cato ; I saw it unfinished some years ago. Did I tell you that Steele has begun a new daily paper, called the Guardian ?* they say good for nothing. I have not seen it. Night, dear MD.

2. I was this morning with Lord Bolingbroke, and he tells me a Spanish courier is just come, with the news that the King of Spain has agreed to every thing that the queen desires ; and the Duke d'Ossuna has left Paris, in order to his journey to Utrecht. I was prevailed on to come home with Trap, and read his poem and correct it ; but it was good for nothing. While I was thus employed, Sir Thomas Hanmer came up to my chamber, and balked me of a journey he and I intended this week to Lord Orkney's, at Cliffden ; but he is not well, and his physician will not let him undertake such a journey. I intended to dine with lord-treasurer ; but going to see Colonel Disney, who lives with General Withers,† I liked the general's little dinner so well,

* First published on Thursday, March 12, 1712-13.

† Hence Gay's lines, in his "Welcome from Greece," addressed to Pope on finishing the Iliad :

Now pass we Gravesend with a friendly wind,
 And Tilbury's white fort, and long Blackwall,
 Greenwich, where dwells the friend of human kind,
 More visited than or her park or hall,
 Withers the good, and (with him ever joined)
 Facetious Disney, greet thee first of all :
 I see his chimney smoke, and hear him say,
 Duke ! that's the room for Pope, and that for Gay.

that I staid and took share of it, and did not go to lord-treasurer till six, where I found Dr Sacheverel, who told us that the bookseller had given him L. 100 for his sermon, preached last Sunday, and intended to print 30,000; I believe he will be confoundedly bit, and will hardly sell above half.* I have fires still, though April is begun, against my old maxim; but the weather is wet and cold. I never saw such a long run of ill weather in my life. Night, dear MD.

3. I was at the queen's chapel to-day, but she was not there. Mr St John, Lord Bolingbroke's brother, came this day at noon with an express from Utrecht, that the peace is signed by all the ministers there, but those of the emperor, who will likewise sign in a few days; so that now the great work is in effect done, and I believe it will appear a most excellent peace for Europe, particularly for England. Addison and I, and some others, dined with Lord Bolingbroke, and sate with him till

Come in, my friends ! here shall ye dine and lie,
 And here shall breakfast, and here dine again;
 And sup and breakfast on, (if ye comply)
 For I have still some dozens of champaign:
 His voice still lessens as the ship sails by;
 He waves his hand to bring us back in vain;
 For now I see, I see proud London's spires;
 Greenwich is lost, and Deptford dock retires.

* The original sermon of Dr Henry Sacheverel made so much noise, that it cannot be wondered the bookseller should have had great hopes from this second discourse. It was entitled, "The Christian Triumph, or the Duty of Praying for our Enemies," the first which he preached after the three years silence imposed upon him by the House of Peers as a part of his sentence. Still less could it be expected, that the poor doctor himself should be able to estimate the change which lapse of time had made in the popularity of one, whose sole merit was that of a fiery and forward tool.

twelve. We were very civil, but yet when we grew warm, we talked in a friendly manner of party. Addison raised his objections, and Lord Bolingbroke answered them with great complaisance. Addison began Lord Somers's health, which went about; but I bid him not name Lord Wharton's, for I would not pledge it; and I told Lord Bolingbroke frankly, that Addison loved Lord Wharton as little as I did: so we laughed, &c. Well, but you are glad of the peace, you Ppt the trimmer, are not you? As for DD I don't doubt her. Why, now, if I did not think Ppt had been a violent Tory, and DD the greater Whig of the two! It is late. Night, MD.

4. This Passion-week, people are so demure, especially this last day, that I told Dilly, who called here, that I would dine with him, and so I did, faith; and had a small shoulder of mutton of my own bespeaking. It rained all day. I came home at seven, and have never stirred out, but have been reading Sacheverel's long dull sermon, which he sent me. It is his first sermon since his suspension is expired; but not a word in it upon the occasion, except two or three remote hints. The Bishop of Clogher has been sadly bit by Tom Ashe, who sent him a pun, which the bishop had made, and designed to send to him, but delayed it; and Lord Pembroke and I made Sir Andrew Fountaine write it to Tom. I believe I told you of it in my last; it succeeded right, and the bishop was wondering to Lord Pembroke how he and his brother could hit on the same thing. I'll go to bed soon, for I must be at church by eight to-morrow, Easter day. Night, dear MD.

5. Warburton wrote to me two letters about a living of one Foulkes, who is lately dead in the county of Meath. My answer is, that before I received the first

letter, General Gorge had recommended a friend of his to the Duke of Ormond, which was the first time I heard of its vacancy, and it was the provost told me of it. I believe verily that Foulkes was not dead when Gorge recommended the other: for Warburton's last letter said, that Foulkes was dead the day before the date.—This has prevented me from serving Warburton, as I would have done, if I had received early notice enough. Pray say or write this to Warburton, to justify me to him. I was at church at eight this morning, and dressed and shaved after I came back, but was too late at court; and Lord Abingdon had like to have snapped me for dinner, and I believe will fall out for refusing him; but I hate dining with him, and I dined with a private friend, and took two or three good walks; for it was a very fine day, the first we have had a great while. Remember, was Easter day a fine day with you? I have sat with Lady Worsley till now. Night, MD.

6. I was this morning at ten at the rehearsal of Mr Addison's play, called *Cato*, which is to be acted on Friday. There were not above half-a-score of us to see it. We stood on the stage, and it was foolish enough to see the actors prompted every moment, and the poet directing them; and the drab that acts *Cato's* daughter* out in the midst of a passionate part, and then calling out, "What's next?" † The Bishop of Clogher was there too; but he stood privately in a gallery. I went to dine

* Mrs Oldfield.

† It is singular, that Swift makes no remark on the piece itself. But he was now on cold terms with Addison, and never seems to have been interested in the Drama.

with lord-treasurer, but he was gone to Wimbledon, his daughter Caermarthen's country seat, seven miles off. So I went back, and dined privately with Mr Addison, whom I had left to go to lord-treasurer. I keep fires yet; I am very extravagant. I sate this evening with Sir Andrew Fountaine, and we amused ourselves with making ifs for Dilly. It is rainy weather again; never saw the like. This letter shall go to-morrow; remember, young women, it is seven weeks since your last, and I allow you but five weeks; but you have been galloping in the country to Swanton's. Pray tell Swanton I had his letter, but cannot contrive how to serve him. If a governor were to go over, I would recommend him as far as lay in my power, but I can do no more: and you know all employments in Ireland, at least almost all, are engaged in reversions. If I were on the spot, and had credit with a lord-lieutenant, I would very heartily recommend him; but employments here are no more in my power than the monarchy itself. Night, dear MD.

7. Morning. I have had a visitor here, that has taken up my time. I have not been abroad, you may be sure; so I can say nothing to-day, but that I love MD better than ever, if possible. I will put this in the post-office; so I say no more. I write by this post to the dean, but it is not above two lines; and one enclosed to you, but that enclosed to you is not above three lines; and then one enclosed to the dean, which he must not have but upon condition of burning it immediately after reading, and that before your eyes; for there are some things in it I would not have liable to accident. You shall only know in general, that it is an account of what I have done to serve him in his pretensions on these va-

cancies, &c. But he must not know that you know so much. Don't this perplex you? What care I? But love Pdfr. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LXIII.

London, April 7, 1713.

I FANCY I marked my last, which I sent this day, wrong; only 61, and it ought to be 62. I dined with lord-treasurer, and though the business I had with him is something against Thursday, when the parliament is to meet, and this is Tuesday, yet he put it off till tomorrow. I dare not tell you what it is, lest this letter should miscarry or be opened; but I never saw his fellow for delays. The parliament will now certainly sit, and every body's expectations are ready to burst. At a council to-night, the Lord Chief Justice Parker, a Whig, spoke against the peace; so did Lord Cholmondeley, another Whig, who is treasurer of the household. My lord-keeper* was this night made lord-chancellor. We hope there will soon be some removes. Night, dearest little MD.

8. Lord Cholmondeley is this day removed from his employment, for his last night's speech; and Sir Richard Temple, lieutenant-general, the greatest Whig in the army, is turned out; and lieutenant-general Palmes will be obliged to sell his regiment. This is the first fruits of a friendship I have established between two great

* Lord Harcourt.

men. I dined with lord-treasurer, and did the business I had for him to his satisfaction. I won't tell you what it was. **** The parliament sits to-morrow for certain. Here is a letter printed in Macartney's name, vindicating himself from the murder of Duke Hamilton. I must give some hints to have it answered; 'tis full of lies, and will give an opportunity of exposing that party. To-morrow will be a very important-day. All the world will be at Westminster. Lord-treasurer is as easy as a lamb. They are mustering up the proxies of the absent lords; but they are not in any fear of wanting a majority, which death and accidents have increased this year. Night, MD.

9. I was this morning with lord-treasurer, to present to him a young son of the late Earl of Jersey, at the desire of the widow. There I saw the mace and great coach ready for lord-treasurer, who was going to Parliament. Our society met to-day; but I expected the Houses would sit longer than I cared to fast; so I dined with a friend, and never inquired how matters went till eight this evening, when I went to Lord Orkney's, where I found Sir Thomas Hanmer. The queen delivered her speech very well, but a little weaker in her voice. The crowd was vast. The order for the address was moved, and opposed by Lords Nottingham, Halifax, and Cowper. Lord-treasurer spoke with great spirit and resolution; Lord Peterborow flirted against the Duke of Marlborough, (who is in Germany, you know,) but it was in answer to one of Lord Halifax's impertinences. The order for an address passed by a majority of thirty-three, and the Houses rose before six. This is the account I heard at Lord Orkney's. The Bishop of Ches-

ter, * a high Tory, was against the court. The Duchess of Marlborough sent for him some months ago, to justify herself to him in relation to the queen, and showed him letters, and told him stories, which the weak man believed, and was converted.

10. I dined with a cousin in the city, and poor Pat Rolt was there. I have got her rogue of a husband leave to come to England from Portmahon. The Whigs are much down ; but I reckon they have some scheme in agitation. This parliament time hinders our court meetings on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. I had a great deal of business to-night, which gave me a temptation to be idle, and I lost a dozen shillings at ombre, with Dr Pratt and another. It rains every day, and yet we are all over dust. Lady Masham's eldest boy is very ill : I doubt he will not live, and she stays at Kensington to nurse him, which vexes us all. She is so excessively fond, it makes me mad. She should never leave the queen, but leave every thing, to stick to what is so much the interest of the public, as well as her own. This I tell her ; but talk to the winds. † Night, MD.

11. I dined at lord-treasurer's, with his Saturday company. We had ten at table, all lords but myself and the chancellor of the exchequer. Argyle went off at six, and was in very indifferent humour as usual. Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke were absent. I staid till near ten. Lord-treasurer showed us a small picture, enamelled work, and set in gold, worth about twenty pounds ; a picture, I mean, of the queen, which she

* Dr Francis Gastrell, consecrated to that see April 4, 1713.

† In this advice, the doctor's political zeal seems to have borne down his natural feelings.

gave to the Duchess of Marlborough, set in diamonds. When the duchess was leaving England, she took off all the diamonds, and gave the picture to one Mrs Higgins, (an old intriguing woman, whom every body knows,) bidding her make the best of it she could. Lord-treasurer sent to Mrs Higgins for this picture, and gave her a hundred pounds for it. Was ever such an ungrateful beast as that duchess? or did you ever hear such a story? I suppose the Whigs will not believe it. Pray, try them. She takes off the diamonds, and gives away the picture to an insignificant woman, as a thing of no consequence: and gives it to her to sell, like a piece of old-fashioned plate. Is she not a detestable slut? Night, dear MD.

12. I went to court to-day, on purpose to present Mr Berkeley,* one of your fellows of Dublin College, to Lord Berkeley of Stratton. That Mr Berkeley is a very ingenious man, and great philosopher, and I have mentioned him to all the ministers, and have given them some of his writings; and I will favour him as much as I can. This I think I am bound to, in honour and conscience, to use all my little credit toward helping forward men of worth in the world. The queen was at chapel to-day, and looks well. I dined at Lord Orkney's, with the Duke of Ormond, Lord Arran, and Sir Thomas Hanmer. Mr St John, secretary at Utrecht,

* This Mr Berkeley, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne, was, on Swift's recommendation, preferred to be secretary and chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough, then going as envoy to Sicily. But the ambassador got rid of his chaplain and train, whom he left at Leghorn, while he discharged the business of his mission.

expects every moment to return there with the ratification of the peace. Did I tell you in my last of Addison's play called Cato, and that I was at the rehearsal of it? Night, MD.

13. This morning, my friend, Mr Lewis, came to me, and showed me an order for a warrant for three deaneries; but none of them to me. This was what I always foresaw, and received the notice of it better, I believe, than he expected. I bid Mr Lewis tell my lord-treasurer, that I take nothing ill of him, but his not giving me timely notice, as he promised to do, if he found the queen would do nothing for me. At noon, lord-treasurer hearing I was in Mr Lewis's office, came to me, and said many things too long to repeat. I told him I had nothing to do but go to Ireland immediately; for I could not, with any reputation, stay longer here, unless I had something honourable immediately given to me. We dined together at the Duke of Ormond's. He there told me, he had stopped the warrants for the deans, that what was done for me might be at the same time, and he hoped to compass it to-night; but I believe him not. I told the Duke of Ormond my intentions. He is content Sterne should be a bishop, and I have St Patrick's; but I believe nothing will come of it, for stay I will not; and so I believe for all our ***** you may see me in Dublin before April ends. I am less out of humour than you would imagine: and if it were not, that impertinent people will condole with me, as they used to give me joy, I would value it less. But I will avoid company, and muster up my baggage, and send them next Monday by the carrier to Chester, and come and see my willows, against the expectation of all the world.—What care I? Night, dearest rogues, MD.

14. I dined in the city to-day, and ordered a lodging to be got ready for me against I came to pack up my things; for I will leave this end of the town as soon as ever the warrants for the deaneries are out, which are yet stopped. Lord-treasurer told Mr Lewis, that it should be determined to-night: and so he will say a hundred nights. So he said yesterday, but I value it not. My daily journals shall be but short till I get into the city, and then I will send away this, and follow it myself; and design to walk it all the way to Chester, my man and I, by ten miles a-day. It will do my health a great deal of good. I shall do it in fourteen days. Night, dear MD.

15. Lord Bolingbroke made me dine with him to-day. I was as good company as ever: and told me the queen would determine something for me to-night. The dispute is, Windsor or St Patrick's. I told him I would not stay for their disputes, and he thought I was in the right. Lord Masham told me, that Lady Masham is angry I have not been to see her since this business, and desires I will come to-morrow. Night, dear MD.

16. I was this noon at Lady Masham's, who was just come from Kensington, where her eldest son is sick. She said much to me of what she had talked to the queen and lord-treasurer. The poor lady fell a shedding tears openly. She could not bear to think of my having St Patrick's, &c. I was never more moved than to see so much friendship. I would not stay with her, but went and dined with Dr Arbuthnot, with Mr Berkeley, one of your fellows, whom I have recommended to the doctor, and to Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Mr Lewis tells me, that the Duke of Ormond has been to-day with the queen; and she was content, that Dr

Sterne should be Bishop of Dromore, and I Dean of St Patrick's; but then out came lord-treasurer, and said, he would not be satisfied, but that I must be Prebendary of Windsor. Thus he perplexes things. I expect neither; but I confess, as much as I love England, I am so angry at this treatment, that, if I had my choice, I would rather have St Patrick's. Lady Masham says, she will speak to the purpose to the queen to-morrow. Night, dear MD.

17. I went to dine at Lady Masham's to-day, and she was taken ill of a sore throat, and aguish. She spoke to the queen last night, but had not much time. The queen says she will determine to-morrow with lord-treasurer. The warrants for the deaneries are still stopped, for fear I should be gone. Do you think any thing will be done? I don't care whether it is or no. In the mean time, I prepare for my journey, and see no great people, nor will see lord-treasurer any more, if I go. Lord-treasurer told Mr Lewis it should be done to-night; so he said five nights ago. Night, MD.

18. This morning Mr Lewis sent me word, that lord-treasurer told him the queen would determine at noon. At three lord-treasurer sent to me to come to his lodgings at St James's, and told me the queen was at last resolved, that Dr Sterne should be Bishop of Dromore, and I Dean of St Patrick's; and that Sterne's warrant should be drawn immediately. You know the deanery is in the Duke of Ormond's gift; but this is concerted between the queen, lord-treasurer, and the Duke of Ormond, to make room for me. I do not know whether it will yet be done; some unlucky accident may yet come. Neither can I feel joy at passing my days in Ireland; and I confess, I thought the mi-

nistry would not let me go ; but perhaps they can't help it. Night, MD.

19. I forgot to tell you, that lord-treasurer forced me to dine with him yesterday as usual, with his Saturday company ; which I did after frequent refusals. To-day I dined with a private friend, and was not at court. After dinner Mr Lewis sent me word, that the queen staid till she knew whether the Duke of Ormond approved of Sterne for a bishop. I went this evening, and found the Duke of Ormond at the cock-pit, and told him, and desired he would go to the queen, and approve of Sterne. He made objections, and desired I would name any other deanery, for he did not like Sterne ; that Sterne never went to see him ; that he was influenced by the Archbishop of Dublin, &c. ; so all is now broken again. I sent out for lord-treasurer, and told him this. He says all will do well ; but I value not what he says. This suspense vexes me worse than any thing else. Night, MD.

20. I went to-day, by appointment, to the cock-pit, to talk with the Duke of Ormond. He repeated the same proposals of any other deanery, &c. I desired he would put me out of the case, and do as he pleased. Then, with great kindness, he said he would consent ; but would do it for no man alive but me, &c. And he will speak to the queen to-day or to-morrow ; so, perhaps, something will come of it. I can't tell. Night, own dear MD.

21. The Duke of Ormond has told the queen he is satisfied that Sterne should be bishop, and she consents I shall be dean ; and I suppose the warrants will be drawn in a day or two. I dined at an alehouse with Parnell and Berkeley ; for I am not in humour to

go among the ministers, though Lord Dartmouth invited me to dine with him to-day, and lord-treasurer was to be there. I said I would, if I were out of suspense. Night, dearest MD.

22. The queen says warrants shall be drawn, but she will dispose of all in England and Ireland at once, to be teased no more. This will delay it some time; and, while it is delayed, I am not sure of the queen, my enemies being busy.* I hate this suspense. Night, dear MD.

23. I dined yesterday with General Hamilton: I forgot to tell you. I write short journals now. I have eggs on the spit. This night the queen has signed all the warrants, among which Sterne is Bishop of Dromore, and the Duke of Ormond is to send over an order for making me Dean of St Patrick's. I have no doubt of him at all. I think 'tis now past. And I suppose MD is malicious enough to be glad, and rather have it than Wells.† But you see what a condition I am in. I thought I was to pay but six hundred pounds for the house; but the Bishop of Clogher says eight hundred pounds; first-fruits one hundred and fifty pounds, and so, with patent, a thousand pounds in all; so that I shall not be the better for the deanery these three years. I hope in some time they will be persuaded here to give me some money to pay off these debts. I must finish the book ‡ I am writing, before I can go over;

* He was now probably aware of the danger of having provoked the Duchess of Somerset's irreconcilable enmity, by the Windsor Prophecy.

† See Journal, p. 126. Note.

‡ The History of the Peace of Utrecht.

and they expect I shall pass next winter here, and then I will drive them to give me a sum of money. However, I hope to pass four or five months with MD whatever comes of it. **** I received yours to-night; just ten weeks since I had your last. I shall write next post to Bishop Sterne. Never man had so many enemies in Ireland as he. I carried it with the strongest hand possible. If he does not use me well and gently in what dealings I shall have with him, he will be the most ungrateful of mankind. The Archbishop of York, * my mortal enemy, has sent, by a third hand, that he would be glad to see me. Shall I see him, or not? I hope to be over in a month, and that MD, with their raillery, will be mistaken, that I shall make it three years. I will answer your letter soon; but no more journals. I shall be very busy. Short letters from henceforward. I shall not part with Laracor. That is all I have to live on, except the deanery be worth more than four hundred pounds a-year. Is it? If it be, overplus shall be divided *****, beside usual *****. Pray write to me a good-humoured letter immediately, let it be ever so short. This affair was carried with great difficulty, which vexes me. But they say here, it is much to my reputation, that I have made a bishop, in spite of all the world, to get the best deanery in Ireland. Night, dear MD.

24. I forgot to tell you, I had Sterne's letter yesterday, in answer to mine. ***** I made mistakes the three last days, and am forced to alter the number. I

* Dr Sharp, who, with the Duchess of Somerset, obstinately opposed Swift's preferment, grounding their objections on his being the author of the Tale of a Tub.

dined in the city to-day with my printer, and came home early, and am going to be busy with my work. I will send this to-morrow, and I suppose the warrants will go then. I wrote to Dr Coghill, to take care of passing my patent; and to Parvisol, to attend him with money, if he has any, or to borrow some where he can. Night, MD.

25. Morning. I know not whether my warrant be got ready from the Duke of Ormond. I suppose it will be by to-night. I am going abroad, and will keep this unsealed, till I know whether all be finished.

I had this letter all day in my pocket, waiting till I heard the warrants were gone over. Mr Lewis sent to Southwell's clerk at ten; and he said the Bishop of Killaloe* had desired they should be stopped till next post. He sent again, that the Bishop of Killaloe's business had nothing to do with ours. Then I went myself, but it was past eleven, and asked the reason. Killaloe is removed to Raphoe, and he has a mind to have an order for the rents of Raphoe, that have fallen due since the vacancy, and he would have all stop till he has gotten that. A pretty request! But the clerk, at Mr Lewis's message, sent the warrants for Sterne and me; but then it was too late to send this, which frets me heartily, that MD should not have intelligence first from Pdfr. I think to take a hundred pounds a-year out of the deanery, and divide between ***** but will talk of that when I come over. Night, dear MD. Love Pdfr.

26. I was at court to-day, and a thousand people gave me joy; so I ran out. I dined with Lady Orkney. Yesterday I dined with lord-treasurer and his Saturday

* Dr Thomas Lindsay.

people as usual ; and was so bedeaned ! The Archbishop of York says, he will never more speak against me. Pray see that Parvisol stirs about getting my patent. I have given Tooke DD's note, to prove she is alive.****

27. Nothing new to-day. I dined with Tom Harley, &c. I'll seal up this to-night. Pray write soon. Farewell, MD, FW, Me, Lele.

LETTER LXIV.

London, May 16, 1713.

I HAD yours, N. 40, yesterday. Your new bishop acts very ungratefully. I cannot say so bad of him as he deserves. I begged by the same post his warrant and mine went over, that he would leave those livings to my disposal. I shall write this post to him, to let him know how ill I take it. I have letters to tell me, that I ought to think of employing somebody to set the tithes of the deanery. I know not what to do at this distance. I cannot be in Ireland under a month. I will write two orders ; one to Parvisol, and the other to Parvisol, and a blank for whatever fellow the last dean employed ; and I would desire you to advise with friends, which to make use of : and if the latter, let the fellow's name be inserted, and both act by commission. If the former, then speak to Parvisol, and know whether he can undertake it. I doubt it is hardly to be done by a perfect stranger alone, as Parvisol is. He may perhaps venture at all, to keep up his interest with me ; but that is needless, for I am willing to do him any

good, that will do me no harm. Pray advise with Walls and Raymond, and a little with Bishop Sterne for form. Tell Raymond I cannot succeed to get him the living of Moimed. It is represented here as a great sinecure. Several chaplains have solicited for it; and it has vexed me so, that, if I live, I will make it my business to serve him better in something else. I am heartily sorry for his illness, and that of the other two. If it be not necessary to let the tithes till a month hence, you may keep the two papers, and advise well in the mean time; and whenever it is absolutely necessary, then give that paper which you are most advised to. I thank Mr Walls for his letter. Tell him, that must serve for an answer, with my service to him and her. I shall buy Bishop Sterne's hair as soon as his household goods. I shall be ruined, or at least sadly cramped, unless the queen will give me a thousand pounds. I am sure she owes me a great deal more. Lord-treasurer rallies me upon it, and I believe intends it; but, *quando?* I am advised to hasten over as soon as possible, and so I will, and hope to set out the beginning of June. Take no lodging for me. What? at your old tricks again? I can lie somewhere after I land, and care not where, nor how. I will buy your eggs and bacon, **** your caps and Bible; and pray think immediately, and give me some commissions, and I will perform them. The letter I sent before this was to have gone a post before; but an accident hindered it: and, I assure you, I am very angry MD did not write to Pdfr, and I think you might have had a dean under your girdle for the superscription. I have just finished my Treatise,* and

* His History of the Peace of Utrecht.

must be ten days in correcting it. Farewell, dearest MD, FW, Me, Lele. You'll seal the two papers after my name.

“ London, May 16, 1713.

“ I appoint Mr Isaiah Parvisol and Mr _____ to set and let the tithes of the deanery of St Patrick's for the present year. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year above written.

“ JONAT. SWIFT.”

“ London, May 16, 1713.

“ I do hereby appoint Mr Isaiah Parvisol my proctor, to set and let the tithes of the deanery of St Patrick's. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year above written. JONAT. SWIFT.”

LETTER LXV.

Chester, June 6, 1713.

I AM come here after six days. I set out on Monday last, and got here to-day about eleven in the morning. A noble rider, faith! and all the ships and people went off yesterday with a rare wind. This was told me, to my comfort, upon my arrival. Having not used riding these three years, made me terrible weary; yet I resolve on Monday to set out for Holyhead, as weary as I am: 'tis good for my health, man. When I came here, I found MD's letter of the 26th of May, sent down to me. Had you written a post sooner, I might have brought

some pins : but you were lazy, and could not write your orders immediately, as I desired you. I will come, when God pleases ; perhaps I may be with you in a week. I will be three days going to Holyhead ; I cannot ride faster, say what you will. I am upon Stay-behind's mare. I have the whole inn to myself. I would fain 'scape this Holyhead journey ; but I have no prospect of ships, and it will be almost necessary I should be in Dublin before the 25th instant, to take the oaths ; otherwise I must wait to a quarter session. I will lodge as I can ; therefore take no lodgings for me, to pay in my absence. The poor dean can't afford it. I spoke again to the Duke of Ormond about Moimed for Raymond, and hope he may yet have it, for I laid it strongly to the duke, and gave him the Bishop of Meath's memorial. I am sorry for Raymond's fistula ; tell him so. I will speak to lord-treasurer about Mrs South to-morrow.—Odso ! I forgot ; I thought I had been in London. Mrs Tisdall is very big, ready to lie down. Her husband is a puppy. Do his feet stink still ? The letters to Ireland go at so uncertain an hour, that I am forced to conclude. Farewell, MD, FW, Me, Lele, &c.

T R A C T S,
P O L I T I C A L A N D H I S T O R I C A L,

P R I O R T O

T H E A C C E S S I O N O F G E O R G E I.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

THE STATES

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

MEMOIRS

RELATING TO THAT CHANGE WHICH HAPPENED IN THE
QUEEN'S MINISTRY IN THE YEAR 1710.

THESE Memoirs are placed as introductory to Swift's Political Tracts during the Reign of Queen Anne, because, like the foregoing Journal, they tend to make the reader acquainted both with the author's personal sentiments, and with the scene of intrigue and faction in which it was his fate to be engaged. They have some appearance of having been intended as an apology, or, as Swift would rather have called it, a vindication of his own political conduct, as well as an explanation of the series of mutual quarrel and recrimination, which, under circumstances demanding their closest adherence to each other, dissolved the union between his patrons Oxford and Bolingbroke. On the first point the paper is sufficiently explicit, and openly declares, that a concurrence between his feelings as a clergyman of the Church of England, outraged by the conduct of the Whig party, and the neglect with which his individual services had been regarded, induced him to desert the standard of Halifax and Somers, for that of the Tory chiefs, whose professed object was the elevation of his order, and from whom, individually, he received all the solicitous attention necessary to conciliate so proud a spirit. By comparing the two next articles with the remaining tracts in this department, the reader may distinctly ascertain in what degree Swift, in shifting his party and changing his friends, made any dereliction of his original principles.

HAVING continued for near the space of four years in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in

being, although not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out by my friends, as well as by my enemies, especially the latter, in both Houses of Parliament; and this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management of intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or not, to have part in the secret of affairs.

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints, or journals of every material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thousand instances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages which I have with curiosity found or searched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons, why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity which usually possesses men during their first acquaintance at courts; and, like the masters of a puppet-show, they despise those motions which fill common spectators with

wonder and delight.* However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed, I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period, more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of; or whence more useful instructions may be gathered, for directing the conduct of those who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that upon occasion I sometimes make mention of myself; who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or public employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction, then out of power, were pleased, in both Houses of Parliament, to take every opportunity of showing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privity nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the public and myself were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is to satisfy my particular friends; and at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident or indiscretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more lia-

* Swift could not but remember, though he has not thought it necessary to add, that the reason is the same. The machinist is not less unwilling to destroy the marvel of the spectators by displaying the wires and springs of his performers, than ministers to acknowledge how often their success is owing to the most trifling, and even meanest incidents.

ble to censure than other memoirs, published for many years past, in English, French, and Italian. The period of time I design to treat on will commence with September 1710 : from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in Ireland.

But, because the great change of employments in her majesty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun some months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr Sacheverel's trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in Ireland ; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learned from the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, the Lady Masham, and Doctor Atterbury, who were best able to inform me.

I have often, with great earnestness, pressed the Earl of Oxford, then lord-treasurer, and my Lady Masham, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage, during that whole transaction. Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets ; but from a sincere honest design of justifying the queen, in the measures she then took, and afterwards pursued, against a load of scandal, which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the queen could not live many years ; and it was sufficiently known what party was most in the good graces of the successor, and, consequently, what turns would be given by historians to her majesty's proceedings, under a reign, where directly contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious

pen, than to charge the queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the Duke of Marlborough, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had, in all appearance, so prosperously governed; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure toward the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person she had so long employed, and so highly trusted; and all this, by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part, only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of, with great freedom, both to the Earl of Oxford and my Lady Masham, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction; to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My Lady Masham did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the queen of my request; which her majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear, upon all occasions, as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great prince to be. But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the Earl of Oxford, did, in some sort, infect every one who had credit or business in the court: for, after soliciting near four years to obtain a point of so great importance to the queen and her servants, whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was, to write her majesty's reign; and that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and of which I might be sure to be deprived upon the queen's death.* This negligence in the queen, the Earl of Oxford, and my Lady Masham, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor Sacheverel; my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me: but what I remember, I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all England, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the Duchess of Marlborough had lost all favour with her, as her majesty has often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That lady had long preserved an ascendant over her mistress while she was princess; which her majesty, when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit to subdue. This princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low as to observe, in her domestics of either sex who came into her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unsuitable at certain times. The duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour; the continuance of which was the more offensive to her ma-

* See his petition to this purpose among the following tracts.

jesty, whose other servants, of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect.*

* The Duchess of Marlborough continued to maintain her ascendancy by terror, long after the queen had ceased to regard her with affection. Indeed, it was hardly possible that their friendship should subsist in its original warmth, after Anne had ascended the throne. Previous to that event, they affected to correspond as private individuals, under the names of Mrs Freeman and Mrs Morley. The continuance of this masquerading intercourse was fraught with danger to their friendship, since it perpetually tempted Mrs Freeman to take freedoms with Mrs Morley, which the queen could ill endure from the Duchess of Marlborough. Yet shame at breaking off the intimacy of so long standing, and cemented by adversity undergone in common, apprehension of the consequences of a quarrel with the depository of many a secret, long habits of subjection, and, above all, fear of the duchess's fierce and irregular sallies of passion, long laid the queen under restraints to which no private individual would have submitted for a day. The shifts which she was obliged to make to receive Harley and others unknown to her dictator, are strongly painted in the duchess's account of her own conduct.—“Through the whole summer after Mr Harley's dismissal, the queen continued to have secret correspondence with him. And that this might be the better managed, she staid all the sultry season, even when the prince was panting for breath, in that small house she had formerly purchased at Windsor, which, though as hot as an oven, was then said to be cool, because from the park such persons as Mrs Masham had a mind to bring to her majesty could be let in privately by the garden.

“And when, upon the death of the prince, one would have thought that her majesty's real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object that might sensibly revive the remembrance of her loss, she chose for her place of retirement his closet, and for some weeks spent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this, and when I spoke to her of it, she seemed surprised, just like a person who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done had she duly considered. But the true reason of her majesty's chusing this closet to sit in was, that the back-stairs belonging to it came from

The Earl of Godolphin held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her majesty's early disgust against that lord. The duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her ; which her majesty liked the worse, as knowing whence they originally came : and his lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the Duke of Marlborough she was wholly indifferent, (as her nature in general prompted her to be,) until his restless impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time ; and, farther than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed upon, by an over caution she would impose upon herself : she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service ; nor would let them be done, till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aversion from the

Mrs Masham's lodgings, who, by that means, could secretly bring to her whom she pleased."—*Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.*

Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin ; which spread in time through all their allies and relations, particularly to the Earl of Hertford, whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to her majesty. This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's resolutions to make a change of some officers both in her family and kingdom ; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy : for, although she had been strictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But the fears that most influenced her were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreasonable demands. The deportment of the Duchess of Marlborough, while the prince lay expiring, was of such a nature, that the queen, then in the height of grief, was not able to bear it ; but with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs Masham to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before Prince George's death. This prince had long conceived an incurable aversion from that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the queen his wife to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which seemed to favour this attempt ; for the queen, resolving to bestow a regiment upon Mr Hill,* brother to Mrs Masham, signified her pleasure to

* The regiment of the deceased Earl of Essex. When the Duke

the Duke of Marlborough; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person. But the queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the Earl of Godolphin, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr St John carried a letter from her majesty to the Duke of Marlborough, signifying her resolution to take the staff from the Earl of Godolphin, and that she expected his grace's compliance; to which the duke returned a very humble answer. I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr St John about it; but the account Mr Harley and he gave me was, That the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, had concerted with them upon a moderating scheme, wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect toward the church: That a meeting was appointed for completing this work: That, in the meantime, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the queen, to turn Mr Harley (who was then secretary of

of Marlborough observed the queen determined to bestow the regiment upon Hill, brother of the rival favourite, he wrote to the queen a very haughty letter, saying, that this was but one of many mortifications to which he had been subjected, and that he begged her majesty to reflect what her subjects and the rest of the world must think, since the love, zeal, and duty with which he had served her, were unable to protect him against the malice of a bed-chamber woman. And he concluded with praying leave to retire; a threat, which, though successful in this instance, he used so often as to destroy its terror.

state) and all his friends out of their employments: That the queen, on the other side, who had a great opinion of Mr Harley's integrity and abilities, would not consent, and was determined to remove the Earl of Godolphin. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the Duke of Marlborough was to embark for Flanders; and the very night in which Mr Harley and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the Earl of Godolphin, George Churchill, the duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highness, "That the duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the Earl of Godolphin went out, or Mr Harley and his friends were suffered to continue in." The prince, thus intimidated by Churchill, reported the matter to the queen; and, the time and service pressing, her majesty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment; and the next morning, the duke, at his levee, said aloud, in a careless manner, to those who stood round him, "That Mr Harley was turned out."*

* The Duchess of Marlborough gives the following account of this intrigue:—"Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had often told the queen, in the most respectful manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any service while Mr Harley was in her confidence. Her majesty nevertheless seemed determined not to part with him, till at length these two lords, being urged by necessity to it, declared their resolution to serve no longer with him; and they absented themselves from the council. Mr Harley would have proceeded to business without them, when the council met; but the Duke of Somerset said, he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the general nor the treasurer was present, whereupon the council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the queen, that very soon after Mr Harley was dismissed from his post." Page 212.

Upon the prince's death, November 1708, the two great lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the low church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The Lord Somers was made president of the council, the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland, and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

It should seem to me, that the duke and earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember, some months before his highness's death, my Lord Somers, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me, with great freedom, of the ingratitude of the duke and earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil which my Lord Godolphin had brought upon us, by persuading the queen to pass the *Scotch act of security*.* But to return from this digression.

Upon the admission of these men into employments,

* It was the opinion of Swift, how unjustly time has shown that the union with Scotland was no otherwise advantageous to England than as it secured her against the danger of the northern, part of the island passing to another sovereign. This he expressed so strongly in the "Public Spirit of the Whigs," as to bring on him the bitter resentment of all the Scottish peerage.

the court soon ran into extremity of low church measures ; and although, in the House of Commons, Mr Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr St John, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the Duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the duchess, made that bold attempt, of desiring the queen to give him a commission to be general for life. Her majesty's answer was, " That she would take time to consider it ;" and, in the meanwhile, the duke advised with the Lord Cowper, then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair, and protested, " he would never put the great seal to such a commission." But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke ; and talked to a person whom she had taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The Duke of Argyle, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was under great obligations to the Duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general.*

* The Duke of Argyle was once high in Swift's friendship, as

When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the Duke of Marlborough's request to be general for life, and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal; I was told, he suddenly answered, "That her majesty need not be in pain; for he would undertake, whenever she commanded, to seize the duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive."

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr Sacheverel, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the Earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of Volpone, as my Lord Somers, a few months after, confessed to me; and, at the same time, that he had earnestly, and in vain, endeavoured to dissuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on, in the form and manner which every body knows; and, therefore, there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs Masham, privately brought to the queen; and in some meetings, easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial, in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr Harley was able to procure

appears from many passages in the Journal to Stella. But he had joined with his brethren in expressing strong resentment at the disrespectful terms in which Scotland and her peerage are mentioned in the "Public Spirit of the Whigs," and ever after our author disliked and satirised him.

this private access to the queen ; the Duchess of Marlborough, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the back-stairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him ; * whereof he told me a passage, no otherwise worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr Harley, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near Kensington gate. The earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr Harley, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced, by her majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her majesty and Mr Harley to have private interviews : neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired ; although Mrs Masham, in right of her station in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr Harley had begun. In this critical

* Mrs Masham, whom the queen had admitted into her confidence, durst not be seen to enjoy any mark of it in presence of the Duchess of Marlborough. "I remember," says that extraordinary woman, "that being with the queen, to whom I had gone very privately, by a secret passage from my lodgings to the bed-chamber, on a sudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible ; but, on sight of me, stopped, and immediately changing her manner, and making a most solemn curtsy, said, 'Did your majesty ring?' and then went out again. This singular behaviour needed no interpreter how to make it understood."—*Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.*

junction, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the Duchess of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger. He read the superscription, and saw it was the queen's writing. He sent for the messenger, who said, "He knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an undergardener," I forget whether of Hampton Court or Kensington. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majesty was under; blaming him for "not speaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and desiring his assistance." With this encouragement, he went more frequently, although still as private as possible, to the back-stairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the counsels and actions of some of her servants: "That she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, by taking the disposition of employments into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a slave to a party, but to reward those who may deserve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the high church or low church." In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast, or how far soever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating scheme; which, however, made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister, led, by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her

majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable ; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her majesty, pursuant to Mr Harley's advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened, by the death of the Earl of Essex, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the queen and Mr Harley, that the Earl Rivers should go immediately to the Duke of Marlborough, and desire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that post. The earl went accordingly ; was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the duke, who said, " The lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his lordship's acceptance ;" and desired him to think of something else. The earl still insisted, and the duke still continued to put him off ; at length, Lord Rivers desired his grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the queen ; and hoped he might tell her majesty, " his grace had no objection to him." All this the duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the queen's presence, when the Duke of Marlborough, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, " The lieutenancy of the Tower falling void by the death of the Earl of Essex, he hoped her majesty would bestow it upon the Duke of Northumberland, and give the Oxford regiment, then commanded by that duke, to the Earl of Hertford." The

queen said, " He was come too late ; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to Earl Rivers, who had told her, that he (the duke) had no objection to him." The duke, much surprised at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her majesty's presence, was, however, forced to submit.

The queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the Duke of Kent was forced to compound* for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury, while the Earl of Godolphin was out of town, I think at Newmarket.† His lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court ; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the Duke of Shrewsbury as he was capable of. The circumstances of the Earl of Sunderland's removal, and the reasons alleged, are known

* Upon the 13th April, 1710, the queen wrote with her own hand to the Earl of Godolphin, stating, that she was sorry to find him "so much in the spleen;" that since his going to Newmarket she had received offers of service from the Duke of Shrewsbury, which she was glad to accept of; and concluding, "for these reasons I have resolved to part with the Marquis of Kent, who, I hope, will be made easy in this matter by being made a duke; and I hope that this change will meet with your approbation, which I wish I may ever have in all my actions."

† Upon the 15th March, 1710, he wrote to the queen, from Newmarket, a strong remonstrance, in which he stated, that she was "suffering herself to be guided to her own ruin and destruction, as fast as it was possible for her advisers to compass it: That if she should entirely change her ministers, she would disgust her allies abroad and her subjects at home; and that, as she was pleased to take so important a step without consulting the Duke of Marlborough or himself, he humbly requested leave to retire from London."—*Conduct of the Duchess, &c.* p. 249.

enough. His ungovernable temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to her majesty's person.

Meantime both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The Earl of Wharton, then in Ireland, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the queen began to stop her hand, and the church party to despond. At the same time, the Duke of Shrewsbury happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility. The earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers by, "Damn him, he is making fair weather with me; but, by G—d, I will have his head." But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the treasurer's staff from the Earl of Godolphin; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it.* The treasury was immediately put into commission, with Earl Poulett at the head; but Mr Harley, who was one of the number, and at the same time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The Earl of Wharton immedi-

* The ungracious manner in which the command was delivered, viz. by a livery servant to his lordship's porter, occasioned what was, perhaps, foreseen by Mrs Masham and Harley. Godolphin, in a disrespectful manner, broke the staff, and flung the pieces into the chimney, which imprudent indulgence of passion injured him still farther with the queen.

ately desired and obtained leave to come for England ; leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party. *

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late King William's death ; when, returning with the Earl of Berkeley from Ireland, and falling upon the subject of the five great lords who were then impeached, for high crimes and misdemeanours, by the House of Commons, I happened to say, " That the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in Ireland, had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome ; and that it might be easy to prove it from history." Soon after I went to London ; and, in a few weeks, drew up a discourse, under the title of, *The Contests and Dissensions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States.* † This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my residence in Ireland. The book was greedily

* See a subsequent treatise called, " A short Character of the Earl of Wharton," &c.

† It follows these introductory memoirs, with a short statement of the cause in which it was written.

ly bought, and read ; and charged some time upon my Lord Somers, and some time upon the Bishop of Salisbury ; the latter of whom told me afterward, “ That he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened.”

Returning next year for England, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the first I ever printed,) I must confess, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me to let myself be known for the author : upon which my Lords Somers and Halifax, as well as the bishop above mentioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness—not to mention the Earl of Sunderland, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the king ; and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with Lord Halifax, and was as often with Lord Somers as the formality of his nature (the only unconversable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.*

It was then I began to trouble myself with the differences between the principles of Whig and Tory ; having formerly employed myself in other, and I think much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with Lord Somers ; told him, “ That, having been long conversant with the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they call a Whig in politics ; and

* Swift elsewhere intimates, that this formal demeanour arose from the prudential restraint which Somers laid upon his passions, naturally violent.

that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend, or submit to, the Revolution: but, as to religion, I confessed myself to be a high churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise: That I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness some lords of the high church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently recompensed by their professions of zeal to the church: That I had likewise observed how the Whig lords took a direct contrary measure, treated the persons of particular clergymen with great courtesy, but showed much ill will and contempt for the order in general: That I knew it was necessary for their party to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of Protestants to be members of their body: That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side; but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the Whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them: And that, I doubted, his lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this."

My Lord Somers in appearance entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his lordship, as well as my Lord Halifax, (to whom I have talked in the same manner,) can very well remember: and I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, "That both their lordships, about the time of Lord Godolphin's re-

moval, did, upon occasion, call to mind what I had said to them five years before."

In my journeys to England, I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two lords last mentioned, until the time of Prince George's death; * when the queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made Lord Somers president of the council, and the Earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from some bishops of Ireland, to solicit the Earl of Wharton about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the Earl of Godolphin. It was the first time I ever was in company with the Earl of Wharton: he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to Lord Somers, who would needs bring us together to his house, and presented me to him; where he received me as dryly as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the test, as a step to have it taken off here: upon which, I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, † showing the

* Prince George of Denmark, who had been ill treated by the Whig ministers in the reign of King William, threw all his conjugal interest into the scale against that party. He died 28th October, 1708.

† This is the earliest of Swift's treatises on the subject of the Test.

danger to the church by such an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his excellency their suspicions; whereupon I saw him no more until I went to Ireland. At my taking leave of Lord Somers, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the Earl of Wharton, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in Leicestershire, went to Ireland; and immediately upon my landing, retired to my country parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him Lord Somers's letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary, Mr Addison, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance. Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me; which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mentioned these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to show their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low party: whereas it has been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition

to the measures then taken ; for instance, *A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a Letter to the Countess of Berkeley* ; *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man* ; *An Argument against abolishing Christianity* ; and lastly, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland*, which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the Earl of Wharton was setting out to his government of that kingdom. But those who are loud and violent in coffeehouses, although generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit ; and it is to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself.

About the end of August 1710, * I went for England, at the desire, and by the appointment, of the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom ; under whose hands I had a commission to solicit, in conjunction with two bishops who were then in London, the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, which had been many years solicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two bishops were gone into the country ; whereupon I got myself introduced to Mr Harley, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as first minister. He received me with great kindness ; told me, “ that he and his friends had long expected my arrival ;” and, upon showing my commission, immediately undertook to perform it ; which he accordingly did in less than three weeks, having settled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a scheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promise for a farther and more important favour to the clergy of Ireland ; which the bishops there, deceived by

* When the Journal to Stella commences.

misinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue. *

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr Harley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and in my own; and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr Harley told me, "He and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and that my personal esteem for several among them would not make me a favourer of their cause: That there was now entirely a new scene: That the queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: That their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings, of the new ministers." Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, "That this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle, to pursue it;" and concluded, "That it should be his particular care to establish me here in England, and represent me to the queen as a person they could not be without."

I promised to do my endeavours in that way for some few months. To which he replied, "He expected no more; and that he had other and greater occasions for me."

* Swift had hopes to obtain also the remission of the twentieth parts; but an ungracious attempt, on the part of the bishops, to deprive him of the merit of obtaining the grant of the first-fruits, disgusted and deterred him from farther interference.

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr Secretary St John, since Lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr Atterbury, since Bishop of Rochester; and others again by Mr Prior, Dr Freind, &c.; were published with great applause. But, these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it; which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her majesty's death.

It was Mr Harley's custom every Saturday, that four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at court, should dine at his house; and after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the Lord-keeper Harcourt, the Earl Rivers, the Earl of Peterborough, Mr Secretary St John, and myself; and here, after dinner, they used to discourse and settle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterward, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of Ormond, Shrewsbury, and Argyll; the Earls of Anglesey, Dartmouth, and Poulett; the Lord Berkeley, &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at Windsor; but, as they grew more numerous,

became of less consequence, and ended only in drinking and general conversation : of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr Harley, even before he was lord-treasurer ; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterwards grew up so high ! The cause of their complaint was, That so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment ; and some, particularly the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Cholmondeley, in great stations at court.—They could not believe Mr Harley was in earnest ; but that he designed to constitute a motley comprehensive administration, which, they said, the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of some lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest desire that I would represent them in the most respectful manner to Mr Harley, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him. I excused myself from such an office, upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr Harley.* However, I represented the matter fairly to him ; against which he argued a good deal, from the general reasons of politi-

* This seems to have been upon the occasion mentioned in the preface of the Letter to the October Club. “ It was well known that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public house, where he convinced them very plainly of the treasurer’s sincerity.”

cians ; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disobliging those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topics among statesmen. But there was a secret in this matter, which neither I, nor, indeed, any of his most intimate friends, were then apprized of ; neither did he, at that time, enter with me farther than to assure me very solemnly, " That no person should have the smallest employment, either civil or military, whose principles were not firm for the church and monarchy."

However, these over moderate proceedings in the court gave rise to a party in the House of Commons, which appeared under the name of the October Club ; a fantastic appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who professed, in the greatest degree, what was called the high church principles. They grew in number to almost a third part of the House, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry ; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict inquiry into former mismanagement ; and seemed to expect, that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr Harley, who best knew the disposition of the queen, was forced to break their measures : which he did by that very obvious contrivance, of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where

out, that the October Club were their friends, and acted by their directions : to confirm which, Mr Secretary St John, and Mr Bromley, afterward chancellor of the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly ; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterward meet under the denomination of the March Club, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court to secure elections ; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenantancies changed throughout the kingdom : for the trial of Dr Sacheverel had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr Harley's politics, who was said to avoid an over great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a ministry. But, from the small experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures ; and, from this one occasion, I take leave to observe, That of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason why the court did not interpose in the matter of elections was, because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Besides, it afterwards appeared, upon some exigencies which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once likely to fail for want of numbers.

Mr Harley, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points: first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, secondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work: * I shall only observe, that while he was preparing to open to the House of Commons his scheme for securing the public debts, he was stabbed by the Marquis de Guiscard, while he was sitting in the council-chamber at the Cockpit, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the marquis, upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with France.

This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr Harley's order, upon the eighth of March, 1710-11: and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his corresponding with France. Upon his denial, Mr Harley produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprise of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr Harley, and reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago*

* See History of the Four Last Years, &c.

ensiformis ; the penknife, striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle ; which Guiscard still grasped, and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described. The result was, that the marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon, or that, being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds, died in a few days after. But Mr Harley, after a long illness, and frequent ill symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy person, formerly governor of Namur. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince ; as to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in Holland, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched ; the despair of which first put him upon his French correspondence ; and the discovery of that drove him into madness. I had known him some years ; and meeting him upon the Mall a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, “ That I wondered to see Guiscard pass so often by without taking notice of me.” But although, in the latter part of his life, his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet, I confess, I never suspected him to be a man of resolution or courage sufficient to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr Harley and Mr St John, which afterward had such unhappy consequences upon the public affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr St John affected to say in several companies, "That Guiscard intended the blow against him;" which, if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr St John had all the merit, while Mr Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr St John was either mistaken or misinformed. However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called the Examiner; which Mr St John perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.*

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr St John; and, per-

* To a cool observer, it would seem there was little reason for this emulation, since Guiscard's action was only prompted by fury and despair, venting itself upon the object nearest him. But at the time, as his attempt was deemed one branch of a premeditated plan to take off the ministers most dreaded by France, it was natural that St John should be jealous of the honour which Harley acquired by being the object of assault. There were several reasons to believe that Guiscard, if he had any choice in the matter, would rather have poniarded St John than Harley. 1st, He had been the intimate of St John, and the companion of his pleasures, and it was therefore peculiarly galling to be dragged before him as a culprit. 2dly, He entreated a private audience of the secretary, doubtless to attempt his life. 3dly, Mr Harley had changed places with the secretary before the blow was given; and, in striking the former, Guiscard exclaimed, *J'en veux donc a toi*, which seems to imply, his finding himself obliged to change his original object. And, lastly, the assassin owned when in prison, that his first intention was directed against St John.

haps, was represented in a worse view to Mr Harley. Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr St John did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr Harley's death ; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And I remember very well, that, upon visiting Mr Harley, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr St John ; enough to make me apprehend that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr Harley, soon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord-treasurer ; and the lord-keeper a baron.

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
CONTESTS AND DISSENTIONS
BETWEEN THE
NOBLES AND THE COMMONS
IN
ATHENS AND ROME;
WITH THE CONSEQUENCES THEY HAD UPON BOTH
THOSE STATES.

*Si tibi vera videtur,
Dede manus, et si falsa est, accingere contra.* LUCR.

First printed for J. NUTT in the year 1701.

THE last years of King William's reign were productive of more disappointment and vexation to that monarch than either his phlegm or prudence were able to endure. Not only was he compelled to dismiss his favourite Dutch guards, the companions of all his labours and dangers, but the resumption of those grants of the forfeited lands in Ireland, in which he had rather consulted a wish to reward his favourite adherents, than the genius of the people whom he governed, was made the subject of perpetual motions in parliament. At length, the court lost altogether the manage-

ment and control of the House of Commons; but as it retained its influence in the House of Peers, these two branches of the constitution became engaged in distinct and animated opposition to each other. It was in vain that, to appease the Lower House, in which a motion had been made for an address against Lord Somers, the king took the seals from that great and wise statesman; for in the session of parliament 1701, a motion was made and carried, to impeach him, on account of his share in the treaty for a partition of Spain. At the same time, the House impeached Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Halifax, as advisers of the said treaty, together with William Earl of Portland, by whom it was transacted. And they addressed the king to remove the persons thus accused from his presence and councils. The House of Peers presented a counter address, praying his majesty to suspend any censure upon the impeached lords until the issue of their trial. The subsequent proceedings displayed the same spirit of dissension. On the 5th of May, the Lords sent to remind the House of Commons, that no articles had yet been presented against the impeached nobles; and when such articles were presented, they proceeded with unusual dispatch to communicate the answers of the accused, and to press the Lower House to join issue by replication; repeatedly reminding them of the right of the House of Lords to limit the time of trial, lest parties should suffer by unreasonable delay. The Commons, on the other hand, complained that the course adopted by the Lords was calculated to create disputes, and invited the Peers to accede to the nomination of a committee of both Houses, to settle the proper way and method of proceeding on impeachment, agreeable to the usage of parliament. This course, after discussing the point by message and conference, the Lords positively declined, insisted upon their right of naming a day for peremptorily proceeding upon the trials, and fixed accordingly the 13th May 1701 for going forward to that of Lord Somers. The Commons exclaimed against this conduct, as an attempt to favour the accused, by straitening the Lower House in the time necessary to prepare evidence in support of their charge. But, after much angry discussion, the House of Lords persisted in claiming and exercising the right of fixing a peremptory time for the trial; and although the Commons passed a vote, prohibiting any of their members from appearing on the days appointed, yet the Lords proceeded formally to the trial and acquittal of the Earl of

Orford and Lord Somers, at the time which they had assigned ; and on the last day of the session, dismissed by order the impeachment against Lord Portland, because unsupported by specific articles ; and that against Lord Halifax, because the Commons had failed to join issue, by replying to his defences. The object of this indecent struggle between the two Houses was less, perhaps, a wish to maintain or extend their peculiar privileges, than that of gaining the advantage of the popular voice in their political measures. The House of Commons was ill prepared to support the impeachment, and the House of Lords was probably determined to dismiss it, howsoever it might be sustained. The accusers, therefore, were not unwilling that the trial should appear to go off through the precipitation of the judges ; nor were the judges sorry to have a pretence to lay the blame on the dilatory conduct of the accusers. The contest, however, between the two Houses could not be carried on without allusion to former aggressions, and other causes of jealousy and rivalry ; and as the Commons took more than one opportunity of embarrassing the Peers, by tacking favourite resolutions to their money-bills, it was brought into doubt how far the exclusive right of granting supplies might not enable the Lower House to grasp into their own possession the whole powers of legislation.

Whilst this disgraceful contest was at its height, the king, whose mind was bent upon the approaching war with France, beheld it with regret and astonishment, in which the most sound politicians deeply participated. Among others, Swift, educated under Sir William Temple, long conversant in the literature of Greece and Rome, and in politics a Revolution-Whig, expressed his uneasy apprehension, that the same jars which ruined the free states of antiquity, were now about to destroy the liberties of his own country. This idea he expanded in the following pamphlet, which was published in the summer recess of 1701. Its effect may be best estimated from our knowing that it was ascribed for some time to Lord Somers, and afterwards to Bishop Burnet, accounted the most experienced and able politicians among the Whig party. The bishop was even obliged to disown it publicly, in order to prevent the risk of an impeachment by the House of Commons. The treatise had probably some share in bringing the House of Commons to a milder temper at their next session, and in turning their thoughts to great national concerns, from the factions and

petty discussions which had previously engaged them. And when, in 1702, those heats had subsided, which rendered concealment necessary, Swift found that his acknowledging this pamphlet at once introduced him to the friendship and esteem of Somers and Halifax.

The subject on which the essay is written was peculiar to the time, and has not in the present day retained its interest. We have little reason, in modern times, to apprehend that danger will arise to our constitution from a difference between the popular and aristocratic branches of representation: And, perhaps, should such a contest occur, its effects would hardly be appeased by an elaborate set of examples drawn from the history of the states of antiquity, however artfully selected and adapted to the circumstances of modern events. Ancient, and, above all, classical authority, was in Swift's time admitted as unanswerable argument; and what we should now, perhaps, censure as the effusions of a college pedant, was, in the beginning of last century, allowed as serious reference to weighty precedents. The ingenuity, however, of the parallels which Swift has contrived to extract from the history of Greece and Rome, retains its merit, and continues to amuse us, though the political interest of the disquisition is no more. But although we may agree with Lord Orrery, that this whole treatise is full of historical knowledge and excellent reflections, few readers will have the self-denial to rejoice in its not being "mixed with any improper sallies of wit, or any light airs of humour;" although the aristocratic pride of the noble biographer would probably have deemed these highly improper in a treatise affecting the privileges of the peerage.

One circumstance is worthy of notice;—six instances are selected from ancient history, to illustrate the four impeachments then under parliamentary discussion. There was, perhaps, danger in making the circumstances tally very closely, for the temper of the Commons was for the time too hot to endure argument. The cases of Miltiades and Themistocles seem both to apply to the Earl of Oxford; those of Pericles and Alcibiades to Halifax.

A DISCOURSE, &c.

CHAP. I.

IT is agreed, that in all government there is an absolute unlimited power, which naturally and originally seems to be placed in the whole body, wherever the executive part of it lies. This holds in the body natural; for wherever we place the beginning of motion, whether from the head, or the heart, or the animal spirits in general, the body moves and acts by a consent of all its parts. This unlimited power, placed fundamentally in the body of a people, is what the best legislators of all ages have endeavoured, in their several schemes or institutions of government, to deposit in such hands as would preserve the people from rapine and oppression within, as well as violence from without. Most of them seem to agree in this, that it was a trust too great to be committed to any one man or assembly, and, therefore, they left the right still in the whole body; but the administration or executive part, in the hands of the one, the few, or the many; into which three powers all independent bodies of men seem naturally to divide: for, by all I have read of those innumerable and petty commonwealths in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, as well as the

great ones of Carthage and Rome, it seems to me, that a free people met together, whether by compact, or family government, as soon as they fall into any acts of civil society, do of themselves divide into three powers. The first is that of some one eminent spirit, who, having signalized his valour and fortune in defence of his country, or by the practice of popular arts at home, comes to have great influence on the people, to grow their leader in warlike expeditions, and to preside, after a sort, in their civil assemblies; and this is grounded upon the principles of nature and common reason, which, in all difficulties or dangers, where prudence or courage is required, rather incite us to fly for counsel or assistance to a single person, than a multitude. The second natural division of power is, of such men, who have acquired large possessions, and consequently dependencies, or descend from ancestors who have left them great inheritances, together with an hereditary authority. These easily uniting in thoughts and opinions, and acting in concert, begin to enter upon measures for securing their properties, which are best upheld by preparing against invasions from abroad, and maintaining peace at home; this commences a great council, or senate of nobles, for the weighty affairs of the nation. The last division is, of the mass or body of the people, whose part of power is great and indisputable, whenever they can unite either collectively, or by deputation, to exert it. Now the three forms of government, so generally known in the schools, differ only by the civil administration being placed in the hands of one, or sometimes two, (as in Sparta,) who were called kings; or in a senate, who were called the nobles; or in the people collective or representative, who may be called the commons. Each

of these had frequently the executive power in Greece, and sometimes in Rome : but the power in the last resort was always meant by legislators to be held in balance among all three. And it will be an eternal rule in politics among every free people, that there is a balance of power to be carefully held by every state within itself, as well as among several states with each other.

The true meaning of a balance of power, either without or within a state, is best conceived by considering what the nature of a balance is. It supposes three things : First, the part which is held, together with the hand that holds it ; and then the two scales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now, consider several states in a neighbourhood ; in order to preserve peace between these states, it is necessary they should be formed into a balance, whereof one or more are to be directors, who are to divide the rest into equal scales, and, upon occasion, remove from one into the other, or else fall with their own weight into the lightest ; so in a state within itself, the balance must be held by a third hand, who is to deal the remaining power with the utmost exactness into the several scales. Now, it is not necessary that the power should be equally divided between these three ; for the balance may be held by the weakest, who, by his address and conduct, removing from either scale, and adding of his own, may keep the scales duly poised. Such was that of the two kings of Sparta, the consular power in Rome, that of the kings of Media before the reign of Cyrus, as represented by Xenophon ; and that of the several limited states in the Gothic institution.

When the balance is broken, whether by the negligence, folly, or weakness of the hand that held it, or

by mighty weights fallen into either scale, the power will never continue long in equal division between the two remaining parties, but, till the balance is fixed anew, will run entirely into one. This gives the truest account of what is understood in the most ancient and approved Greek authors, by the word Tyranny ; which is not meant for the seizing of the uncontrolled or absolute power into the hands of a single person, (as many superficial men have grossly mistaken,) but for the breaking of the balance by whatever hand, and leaving the power wholly in one scale : For, tyranny and usurpation in a state are by no means confined to any number, as might easily appear from examples enough ; and because the point is material, I shall cite a few to prove it.

The Romans * having sent to Athens, and the Greek cities of Italy, for the copies of the best laws, chose ten legislators to put them into form, and, during the exercise of their office, suspended the consular power, leaving the administration of affairs in their hands. These very men, though chosen for such a work, as the digesting a body of laws for the government of a free state, did immediately usurp arbitrary power, ran into all the forms of it, had their guards and spies after the practice of the tyrants of those ages, affected kingly state, destroyed the nobles, and oppressed the people ; one of them proceeding so far as to endeavour to force a lady of great virtue : the very crime which gave occasion to the expulsion of the regal power but sixty years before, as this attempt did to that of the Decemviri.

The Ephori in Sparta were at first only certain persons deputed by the kings to judge in civil matters,

* Dionys. Hal. lib. 10.

while they were employed in the wars. These men, at several times, usurped the absolute authority, and were as cruel tyrants as any in their age.

Soon after the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, * the Athenians chose four hundred men for administration of affairs, who became a body of tyrants, and were called, in the language of those ages, an oligarchy, or tyranny of the few ; under which hateful denomination they were soon after deposed in great rage by the people.

When Athens was subdued by Lysander, † he appointed thirty men for the administration of that city, who immediately fell into the rankest tyranny : but this was not all ; for, conceiving their power not founded on a basis large enough, they admitted three thousand into a share of the government ; and, thus fortified, became the cruellest tyranny upon record. They murdered in cold blood great numbers of the best men, without any provocation, from the mere lust of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula. This was such a number of tyrants together, as amounted to near a third part of the whole city ; for Xenophon tells us, ‡ that the city contained about ten thousand houses ; and allowing one man to every house, who could have any share in the government, (the rest consisting of women, children, and servants,) and making other obvious abatements, these tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a majority even of the people collective.

In the time of the second Punic war, § the balance of power in Carthage was got on the side of the people ;

* Thucyd. lib. 8.

† Memorab. lib. 3.

† Xenoph. de Rebus Græc. l. 2.

§ Polyb. Frag. lib. 6.

and this to a degree, that some authors reckon the government to have been then among them a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the commons ; which it seems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at last among the causes that ruined their state : and the frequent murders of their generals, which Diodorus* tells us was grown to an established custom among them, may be another instance, that tyranny is not confined to numbers.

I shall mention but one example more among a great number that might be produced ; it is related by the author last cited. † The orators of the people at Argos (whether you will style them, in modern phrase, great speakers of the house ; or only, in general, representatives of the people collective) stirred up the commons against the nobles, of whom 1600 were murdered at once ; and at last, the orators themselves, because they left off their accusations, or, to speak intelligibly, because they withdrew their impeachments ; having, it seems, raised a spirit they were not able to lay. And this last circumstance, as cases have lately stood, may perhaps be worth noting.

From what has been already advanced, several conclusions may be drawn :—

First, That a mixed government, partaking of the known forms received in the schools, is by no means of Gothic invention, but has place in nature and reason, seems very well to agree with the sentiments of most legislators, and to have been followed in most states, whether they have appeared under the name of monarchies, aristocracies, or democracies ; for, not to men-

* Lib. 20.

† Lib. 15.

tion the several republics of this composition in Gaul and Germany, described by Cæsar and Tacitus, Polybius tells us, the best government is that which consists of three forms, *regis, optimatum, et populi imperio*,* which may be fairly translated, the king, lords, and commons. Such was that of Sparta, in its primitive institution by Lycurgus, who, observing the corruptions and depravations to which every of these was subject, compounded his scheme out of all, so that it was made up of *reges, seniores, et populus*. Such also was the state of Rome under its consuls; and the author tells us, that the Romans fell upon this model purely by chance, (which I take to have been nature and common reason,) but the Spartans by thought and design. And such at Carthage was the *summa reipublicæ*, † or power in the last resort; for they had their kings, called *suffetes*, and a senate, which had the power of nobles, and the people had a share established too.

Secondly, It will follow, that those reasoners, who employ so much of their zeal, their wit, and their leisure, for the upholding the balance of power in Christendom, at the same time that by their practices they are endeavouring to destroy it at home, are not such mighty patriots, or so much in the true interest of their country, as they would affect to be thought; but seem to be employed like a man, who pulls down with his right hand what he has been building with his left.

Thirdly, This makes appear the error of those, who think it an uncontrollable maxim, that power is always safer lodged in many hands than in one: for, if these many hands be made up only from one of the three

* Frag. lib. 6.

† Id. ib.

divisions before-mentioned, it is plain from those examples already produced, and easy to be paralleled in other ages and countries, that they are capable of enslaving the nation, and of acting all manner of tyranny and oppression, as it is possible for a single person to be, though we should suppose their number not only to be of four or five hundred, but above three thousand.

Again, it is manifest, from what has been said, that, in order to preserve the balance in a mixed state, the limits of power deposited with each party ought to be ascertained, and generally known. The defect of this is the cause that introduces those strugglings in a state, about prerogative and liberty ; about encroachments of the few upon the rights of the many, and of the many upon the privileges of the few, which ever did, and ever will, conclude in a tyranny ; first, either of the few, or the many ; but at last, infallibly of a single person : for whichever of the three divisions in a state is upon the scramble for more power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is,) unless due care be taken by the other two, upon every new question that arises, they will be sure to decide in favour of themselves, talk much of inherent right ; they will nourish up a dormant power, and reserve privileges *in petto*, to exert upon occasions, to serve expedients, and to urge upon necessities ; they will make large demands, and scanty concessions, ever coming off considerable gainers : thus at length the balance is broke, and tyranny let in ; from which door of the three it matters not.

To pretend to a declarative right, upon any occasion whatsoever, is little less than to make use of the whole power ; that is, to declare an opinion to be law, which has always been contested, or perhaps never started

at all, before such an incident brought it on the stage. Not to consent to the enacting of such a law, which has no view beside the general good, unless another law shall at the same time pass, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone ; what is this but to claim a positive voice, as well as a negative ?* To pretend that great changes and alienations of property have created new and great dependencies, and, consequently, new additions of power, as some reasoners have done, is a most dangerous tenet. † If dominion must follow property, let it follow in the same pace ; for, change in property through the bulk of a nation makes slow marches, and its due power always attends it. To conclude that whatever attempt is begun by an assembly ought to be pursued to the end, without regard to the greatest incidents that may happen to alter the case ; to count it mean, and below the dignity of a house, to quit a prosecution ; to resolve upon a conclusion, before it is

* On the second of April, 1701, the House of Commons sent up to the House of Peers the bill for the land-tax, to which they had coupled, or, as the phrase went, *tacked*, a clause for the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland, to follow upon the resumption of the grants of the said estates, made by King William to the Countess of Orkney, his mistress, and to several of his favourites. This being thought to encroach upon the privileges of the peers, was the subject of warm discussion between the two Houses, and the bill was only passed by the special interference of the king, who dreaded the consequences of the dispute to which it gave rise.

† In the bill for resumption of the forfeited estates in Ireland was a clause for erecting a judicature to decide the claims touching the said property. And, in other respects, the House acted as if the peculiar extent and importance of these forfeitures had given the national council a greater title to interfere in the management of them, than in the disposal of escheats of less importance.

possible to be apprised of the premises ; to act thus, I say, is to affect not only absolute power, but infallibility too.* Yet such unaccountable proceedings as these have popular assemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due limits of power and privilege.

Great changes may indeed be made in a government, yet the form continue, and the balance be held : but large intervals of time must pass between every such innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a piece with the constitution. Such, we are told, were the proceedings of Solon, when he modelled anew the Athenian commonwealth ; and what convulsions in our own, as well as other states, have been bred by a neglect of this rule, is fresh and notorious enough : it is too soon, in all conscience, to repeat this error again.

Having shown, that there is a natural balance of power in all free states, and how it has been divided, sometimes by the people themselves, as in Rome ; at others by the institutions of the legislators, as in the several states of Greece and Sicily ; the next thing is, to examine what methods have been taken to break or overthrow this balance, which every one of the three parties has continually endeavoured, as opportunities have served ; as might appear from the stories of most ages and countries : for, absolute power in a particular state is of the same nature with universal monarchy in several states adjoining to each other. So endless and exorbitant are the desires of men, whether considered in their persons or their states, that they will

* Alluding to the commons declining to give up the impeachment of the four lords, although they experienced the difficulty of supporting it by specific articles of accusation.

grasp at all, and can form no scheme of perfect happiness with less. Even since men have been united into governments, the hopes and endeavours after universal monarchy have been bandied among them, from the reign of Ninus, to this of the Most Christian King; in which pursuits, commonwealths have had their share, as well as monarchs: so the Athenians, the Spartans, the Thebans, and the Achaians, did several times aim at the universal monarchy of Greece: so the commonwealths of Carthage and Rome affected the universal monarchy of the then known world. In like manner has absolute power been pursued by the several parties of each particular state; wherein single persons have met with most success, though the endeavours of the few and the many have been frequent enough: yet, being neither so uniform in their designs, nor so direct in their views, they neither could manage nor maintain the power they had got; but were ever deceived by the popularity and ambition of some single person. So that it will be always a wrong step in policy, for the nobles and commons to carry their endeavours after power so far as to overthrow the balance: and it would be enough to damp their warmth in such pursuits, if they could once reflect, that in such a course they will be sure to run upon the very rock that they meant to avoid; which, I suppose, they would have us think is the tyranny of a single person.

Many examples might be produced of the endeavours of each of these three rivals after absolute power; but I shall suit my discourse to the time I am writing in, and relate only such dissensions in Greece and Rome, between the nobles and commons, with the consequences of them, wherein the latter were the aggressors.

I shall begin with Greece, where my observation shall be confined to Athens, though several instances might be brought from other states thereof.

CHAP. II.

OF THE DISSENSIONS IN ATHENS, BETWEEN THE FEW AND THE MANY.

THESEUS is the first who is recorded, with any appearance of truth, to have brought the Grecians from a barbarous manner of life, among scattered villages, into cities; and to have established the popular state in Athens, assigning to himself the guardianship of the laws, and chief command in war. He was forced, after some time, to leave the Athenians to their own measures, upon account of their seditious temper, which ever continued with them, till the final dissolution of their government by the Romans. It seems, the country about Attica was the most barren of any in Greece; through which means it happened, that the natives were never expelled by the fury of invaders, (who thought it not worth a conquest,) but continued always aborigines; and therefore retained, through all revolutions, a tincture of that turbulent spirit wherewith their government began. This institution of Theseus appears to have been rather a sort of mixed monarchy than a popular state; and, for aught we know, might continue so during the series of kings, till the death of Codrus. From this last prince Solon was said to be descended; who, finding the people

engaged in two violent factions of the poor and the rich, and in great confusion thereupon, refusing the monarchy, which was offered him, chose rather to cast the government after another model, wherein he made provisions for settling the balance of power, choosing a senate of four hundred, and disposing the magistracies and offices according to men's estates; leaving to the multitude their votes in electing, and the power of judging certain processes by appeal. This council of four hundred was chosen, one hundred out of each tribe, and seems to have been a body representative of the people; though the people collective reserved a share of power to themselves. It is a point of history perplexed enough; but this much is certain, that the balance of power was provided for; else Pisistratus, called by authors the tyrant of Athens, could never have governed so peaceably as he did, without changing any of Solon's laws.* These several powers, together with that of the archon or chief magistrate, made up the form of government in Athens, at what time it began to appear upon the scene of action and story.

The first great man bred up under this institution was Miltiades, who lived about ninety years after Solon, and is reckoned to have been the first great captain, not only of Athens, but of all Greece. From the time of Miltiades to that of Phocion, who is looked upon as the last famous general of Athens, are about 130 years: after which, they were subdued and insulted by Alexander's captains, and continued under several revolutions a small truckling state, of no name or reputation, till they fell, with the rest of Greece, under the power of the Romans.

* Herodot lib. 1.

During this period from Miltiades to Phocion, I shall trace the conduct of the Athenians with relation to their dissensions between the people and some of their generals ; who, at that time, by their power and credit in the army, in a warlike commonwealth, and often supported by each other, were, with the magistrates and other civil officers, a sort of counterpoise to the power of the people ; who, since the death of Solon, had already made great encroachments. What these dissensions were, how founded, and what the consequences of them, I shall briefly and impartially relate.

I must here premise, that the nobles in Athens were not at this time a corporate assembly, that I can gather ; therefore the resentments of the commons were usually turned against particular persons, and by way of articles of impeachment. Whereas the commons in Rome and some other states, as will appear in a proper place, though they followed this method upon occasion, yet generally pursued the enlargement of their power by more set quarrels of one entire assembly against another. However, the custom of particular impeachments being not limited to former ages, any more than that of general struggles and dissensions between fixed assemblies of nobles and commons, and the ruin of Greece having been owing to the former, as that of Rome was to the latter, I shall treat on both expressly ; that those states who are concerned in either, (if, at least, there be any such now in the world,) may, by observing the means and issues of former dissensions, learn whether the causes are alike in theirs ; and if they find them to be so, may consider whether they ought not justly to apprehend the same effects.

To speak of every particular person impeached by the

commons of Athens, within the compass designed, would introduce the history of almost every great man they had among them : I shall therefore take notice only of six, who, living at that period of time when Athens was at the height of its glory, as indeed it could not be otherwise while such hands were at the helm, though impeached with high crimes and misdemeanours, such as bribery, arbitrary proceedings, misapplying or embezzling public funds, ill conduct at sea, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their country as the preservers of it, and have had the veneration of all ages since paid justly to their memories.

Miltiades * was one of the Athenian generals against the Persian power, and the famous victory at Marathon was chiefly owing to his valour and conduct. Being sent some time after to reduce the Island of Paros, he mistook a great fire at a distance for the fleet ; and being no ways a match for them, set sail for Athens ; at his arrival he was impeached by the commons for treachery, though not able to appear by reason of his wounds, fined 30,000 crowns, and died in prison. Though the consequences of this proceeding upon the affairs of Athens were no other than the untimely loss of so great and good a man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

Their next great man was Aristides. † Beside the mighty service he had done his country in the wars,

* Lord Orford seems to be presented under the character of Miltiades, as well as under that of Themistocles ; as the cases of Pericles and Alcibiades both apply to the character of Halifax.

† Lord Somers, against whom the commons had preferred an address, praying that he might be removed from the king's councils and presence.

he was a person of the strictest justice, and best acquainted with the laws as well as forms of their government, so that he was in a manner chancellor of Athens. This man, upon a slight and false accusation of favouring arbitrary power, was banished by ostracism ; which, rendered into modern English, would signify, that they voted he should be removed from their presence and council for ever. But, however, they had the wit to recall him, and to that action owed the preservation of their state by his future services. For it must be still confessed in behalf of the Athenian people, that they never conceived themselves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the heights of modern assemblies, to make obstinacy confirm what sudden heat and temerity began. They thought it not below the dignity of an assembly to endeavour at correcting an ill step ; at least to repent, though it often fell out too late.

Themistocles * was at first a commoner himself : it was he that raised the Athenians to their greatness at sea, which he thought to be the true and constant interest of that commonwealth ; and the famous naval victory over the Persians at Salamis was owing to his conduct. It seems the people observed somewhat of haughtiness in his temper and behaviour, and therefore banished him for five years ; but finding some slight matter of accusation against him, they sent to seize his person, and he hardly escaped to the Persian court ; from whence, if the love of his country had not surmounted its base ingratitude to him, he had many invitations to return at

* Admiral Russell, created Earl of Orford. The allusions to his defeating the French fleet at La Hogue, and to the natural haughtiness of his temper, are delicately touched.

the head of the Persian fleet, and take a terrible revenge : but he rather chose a voluntary death.

The people of Athens impeached Pericles* for misapplying the public revenues to his own private use. He had been a person of great deservings from the republic, was an admirable speaker, and very popular. His accounts were confused, and he could not then give them up; therefore, merely to divert that difficulty, and the consequences of it, he was forced to engage his country in the Peloponnesian war, the longest that ever was known in Greece, and which ended in the utter ruin of Athens.

The same people having resolved to subdue Sicily, sent a mighty fleet under the command of Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades: the two former, persons of age and experience; the last, a young man of noble birth, excellent education, and a plentiful fortune. A little before the fleet set sail, it seems, one night, the stone-images of Mercury, placed in several parts of the city, were all paled in the face: this action the Athenians interpreted for a design of destroying the popular state; and Alcibiades, having been formerly noted for the like frolics and excursions, was immediately accused of this. He, whether conscious of his innocence, or assured of the secrecy, offered to come to his trial before he went to his command; this the Athenians refused. But as soon as he was got to Sicily, they sent for him back, de-

* Under the fate of Pericles, and again under that of Alcibiades, Swift points out circumstances parallel to the case of Halifax. He was impeached on account of alleged peculation in rendering account of the produce of the forfeited estates, and so far his situation resembled that of Pericles. But his personal character, as young, noble, and a pretender to wit and gallantry, was rather allied to that of Alcibiades.

signing to take the advantage, and prosecute him in the absence of his friends, and of the army, where he was very powerful. It seems he understood the resentments of a popular assembly too well to trust them ; and, therefore, instead of returning, escaped to Sparta ; where his desires of revenge prevailing over his love to his country, he became its greatest enemy. Meanwhile the Athenians, before Sicily, by the death of one commander, and the superstition, weakness, and perfect ill-conduct of the other, were utterly destroyed, the whole fleet taken, and a miserable slaughter made of the army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, Alcibiades was recalled upon his own conditions by the necessities of the people, and made chief commander at sea and land ; but his lieutenant engaging against his positive orders, and being beaten by Lysander, Alcibiades was again disgraced and banished. However, the Athenians having lost all strength and heart since their misfortune at Sicily, and now deprived of the only person that was able to recover their losses, repent of their rashness, and endeavour in vain for his restoration ; the Persian lieutenant, to whose protection he fled, making him a sacrifice to the resentments of Lysander, the general of the Lacedemonians, who now reduces all the dominions of the Athenians, takes the city, razes their walls, ruins their works, and changes the form of their government ; which, though again restored for some time by Thrasybulus, (as their walls were rebuilt by Conon,) yet here we must date the fall of the Athenian greatness ; the dominion and chief power in Greece from that period to the time of Alexander the Great, which was about fifty years, being divided between the Spartans and Thebans. Though Philip, Alexander's father,

(the most Christian king of that age,) had indeed some time before begun to break in upon the republic of Greece by conquest or bribery ; particularly dealing large money among some popular orators, by which he brought many of them, as the term of art was then, to Philip-pize.

In the time of Alexander and his captains, the Athenians were offered an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and being restored to their former state ; but the wise turn they thought to give the matter, was by an impeachment and sacrifice of the author to hinder the success. For after the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, this prince designing the conquest of Athens, was prevented by Phocion * the Athenian general, then ambassador from that state ; who, by his great wisdom and skill at negotiations, diverted Alexander from his design, and restored the Athenians to his favour. The very same success he had with Antipater after Alexander's death, at which time the government was new regulated by Solon's laws : But Polyperchon, in hatred to Phocion, having, by order of the young king, whose governor he was, restored those whom Phocion had banished, the plot succeeded. Phocion was accused by popular orators, and put to death.

* William Bentinck, Earl of Portland. King William, whose ideas were altogether military, finding some difficulties arise in the course of the conferences concerning a peace, held at Ryswick, in 1697, directed the Earl of Portland, one of his generals, to have an interview on the subject with Marshal Boufflers ; and the result of the conference betwixt these martial plenipotentiaries was the removal of all obstacles to the treaty. Portland was ambassador at Paris in 1698, more to his own honour than the profit of Britain ; and he was plenipotentiary for King William in the second partition treaty in 1700.

Thus was the most powerful commonwealth of all Greece, after great degeneracies from the institution of Solon, utterly destroyed by that rash, jealous, and inconstant humour of the people, which was never satisfied to see a general either victorious or unfortunate: such ill judges, as well as rewarders, have popular assemblies been, of those who best deserved from them.

Now, the circumstance which makes these examples of more importance is, that this very power of the people in Athens, claimed so confidently for an inherent right, and insisted on as the undoubted privilege of an Athenian born, was the rankest encroachment imaginable, and the grossest degeneracy from the form that Solon left them. In short, their government was grown into a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people, who by degrees had broke and overthrown the balance, which that legislator had very well fixed and provided for.— This appears not only from what has been already said of that lawgiver, but more manifestly from a passage in Diodorus; * who tells us, that Antipater, one of Alexander's captains, abrogated the popular government in Athens, and restored the power of suffrages and magistracy to such only as were worth two thousand drachmas; by which means, says he, that republic came to be again administered by the laws of Solon. By this quotation it is manifest that great author looked upon Solon's institution, and a popular government, to be two different things. And as for this restoration by Antipater, it had neither consequence nor continuance worth observing.

I might easily produce many more examples, but these

* Lib. 18.

are sufficient : and it may be worth the reader's time to reflect a little on the merits of the cause, as well as of the men, who had been thus dealt with by their country. I shall direct him no farther than by repeating, that Aristides* was the most renowned by the people themselves for his exact justice and knowledge in the law ; that Themistocles † was a most fortunate admiral, and had got a mighty victory over the great King of Persia's fleet ; that Pericles ‡ was an able minister of state, an excellent orator, and a man of letters ; and lastly, that Phocion, § beside the success of his arms, was also renowned for his negotiations abroad ; having in an embassy brought the greatest monarch of the world at that time to the terms of an honourable peace, by which his country was preserved.

I shall conclude my remarks upon Athens with the character given us of that people by Polybius. About this time, says he, the Athenians were governed by two men, quite sunk in their affairs ; had little or no commerce with the rest of Greece, and were become great reverencers of crowned heads.

For, from the time of Alexander's captains, till Greece was subdued by the Romans, to the latter part of which this description of Polybius falls in, Athens never produced one famous man either for counsels or arms, or hardly for learning. And, indeed, it was a dark insipid period through all Greece : for, except the Achaean league under Aratus and Philopœmen ; and the endeavours of Agis and Cleomenes to restore the state of Sparta, so frequently harassed by tyrannies occasioned

* Somers.

† Halifax.

‡ Orford.

§ Portland.

by the popular practices of the ephori, there was very little worth recording. All which consequences may perhaps be justly imputed to this degeneracy of Athens.

CHAP. III.

OF THE DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS IN ROME, WITH THE CONSEQUENCES THEY HAD UPON THAT STATE.

HAVING in the foregoing Chapter confined myself to the proceedings of the commons only, by the method of impeachments against particular persons, with the fatal effects they had upon the state of Athens; I shall now treat of the dissensions at Rome, between the people and the collective body of the patricians or nobles. It is a large subject, but I shall draw it into as narrow a compass as I can.

As Greece, from the most ancient accounts we have of it, was divided into several kingdoms, so was most part of Italy* into several petty commonwealths. And as those kings in Greece are said to have been deposed by their people upon the score of their arbitrary proceedings; so, on the contrary, the commonwealths of Italy were all swallowed up, and concluded in the tyranny of the Roman emperors. However, the differences between those Grecian monarchies and Italian republics were not very great: for, by the account Ho-

* Dionys. Halicar.

mer gives us of those Grecian princes who came to the siege of Troy, as well as by several passages in the *Odyssey*, it is manifest, that the power of these princes in their several states was much of a size with that of the kings in Sparta, the archon at Athens, the suffetes at Carthage, and the consuls in Rome: so that a limited and divided power seems to have been the most ancient and inherent principle of both those people in matters of government. And such did that of Rome continue from the time of Romulus, though with some interruptions, to Julius Cæsar, when it ended in the tyranny of a single person. During which period (not many years longer than from the Norman conquest to our age) the commons were growing by degrees into power and property, gaining ground upon the patricians, as it were, inch by inch, till at last they quite overturned the balance, leaving all doors open to the practices of popular and ambitious men, who destroyed the wisest republic, and enslaved the noblest people that ever entered upon the stage of the world. By what steps and degrees this was brought to pass shall be the subject of my present inquiry.

While Rome was governed by kings, the monarchy was altogether elective. Romulus himself, when he had built the city, was declared king by the universal consent of the people, and by augury, which was there understood for divine appointment. Among other divisions he made of the people, one was into patricians and plebeians: the former were like the Barons of England some time after the conquest; and the latter are also described to be almost exactly what our Commons were then. For they were dependents upon the patricians, whom they chose for their patrons and protectors, to

answer for their appearance, and defend them in any process: they also supplied their patrons with money in exchange for their protection. This custom of patronage, it seems, was very ancient, and long practised among the Greeks.

Out of these patricians Romulus chose a hundred to be a senate, or grand council, for advice and assistance to him in the administration. The senate, therefore, originally consisted all of nobles, and were of themselves a standing council, the people being only convoked upon such occasions, as by this institution of Romulus fell into their cognizance: those were, to constitute magistrates, to give their votes for making laws, and to advise upon entering on a war. But the two former of these popular privileges were to be confirmed by authority of the senate; and the last was only permitted at the king's pleasure. This was the utmost extent of power pretended to by the commons in the time of Romulus; all the rest being divided between the king and the senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the constitution of England for some centuries after the conquest.

After a year's interregnum from the death of Romulus, the senate of their own authority chose a successor, and a stranger, merely upon the fame of his virtue, without asking the consent of the commons; which custom they likewise observed in the two following kings. But in the election of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king, we first hear mentioned, that it was done *populi impetratâ veniâ*; which indeed was but very reasonable for a free people to expect; though I cannot remember, in my little reading, by what incidents they were brought to advance so great a step. However it were,

this prince, in gratitude to the people, by whose consent he was chosen, elected a hundred senators out of the commons, whose number, with former additions, was now amounted to three hundred.

The people having once discovered their own strength, did soon take occasion to exert it, and that by very great degrees.* For at this king's death, who was murdered by the sons of a former, being at a loss for a successor, Servius Tullius, a stranger, and of mean extraction, was chosen protector of the kingdom by the people, without the consent of the senate; at which the nobles being displeased, he wholly applied himself to gratify the commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer protector, but king.

This prince first introduced the custom of giving freedom to servants, so as to become citizens of equal privileges with the rest, which very much contributed to increase the power of the people.

Thus in a very few years the commons proceeded so far, as to wrest even the power of choosing a king entirely out of the hands of the nobles; which was so great a leap, and caused such a convulsion and struggle in the state, that the constitution could not bear it; but civil dissensions arose, which immediately were followed by the tyranny of a single person, as this was by the utter subversion of the regal government, and by a settlement upon a new foundation. For the nobles, spited at this indignity done them by the commons, firmly united in a body, deposed this prince by plain force, and chose Tar-

* Alluding to the great rebellion, and protectorship of Oliver Cromwell.

quin the Proud ; * who, running into all the forms and methods of tyranny, after a cruel reign, was expelled by a universal concurrence of nobles and people, whom the miseries of his reign had reconciled.

When the consular government began, the balance of power between the nobles and plebeians was fixed anew : the two first consuls were nominated by the nobles, and confirmed by the commons ; and a law was enacted, That no person should bear any magistracy in Rome, *injussu populi*, that is, without consent of the commons.

In such turbulent times as these, many of the poorer citizens had contracted numerous debts, either to the richer sort among themselves, or to senators and other nobles : and the case of debtors in Rome for the first four centuries † was, after the set time for payment, that they had no choice but either to pay or be the creditor's slave. In this juncture, the commons leave the city in mutiny and discontent, and will not return but upon condition to be acquitted of all their debts ; and moreover, that certain magistrates be chosen yearly, whose business it shall be to defend the commons from injuries. These are called tribunes of the people, their persons are held sacred and inviolable, and the people bind themselves by oath never to abrogate the office. By these tribunes, in process of time, the people were grossly imposed on to serve the turns and occasions of revengeful or ambitious men, and to commit such exorbitancies, as could not end but in the dissolution of the government.

These tribunes, a year or two after their institution, kindled great dissensions between the nobles and the commons on the account of Coriolanus, a nobleman, whom

* James II.

† Ab urbe condita.

the latter had impeached, and the consequences of whose impeachment (if I had not confined myself to Grecian examples for that part of my subject) had like to have been so fatal to their state. And from this time, the tribunes began a custom of accusing to the people whatever nobles they pleased, several of whom were banished or put to death in every age.

At this time the Romans were very much engaged in wars with their neighbouring states ; but upon the least intervals of peace, the quarrels between the nobles and the plebeians would revive ; and one of the most frequent subjects of their differences was the conquered lands, which the commons would fain have divided among the public ; but the senate could not be brought to give their consent. * For, several of the wisest among the nobles began to apprehend the growing power of the people ; and therefore knowing what an accession thereof would accrue to them by such an addition of property, used all means to prevent it : for this the Appian family was most noted, and thereupon most hated by the commons. One of them having made a speech against this division of lands, was impeached by the people of high treason, and a day appointed for his trial : but disdain- ing to make his defence, he chose rather the usual Roman remedy of killing himself : after whose death the commons prevailed, and the lands were divided among them.

This point was no sooner gained, but new dissensions began ; for the plebeians would fain have a law enacted to lay all men's rights and privileges upon the same level : and to enlarge the power of every magistrate within his own jurisdiction, as much as that of the consuls. The

* Allusion to the forfeited lands in Ireland.

tribunes also obtained to have their numbers doubled, which before was five : and the author tells us, that their insolence and power increased with their number, and the seditions were also doubled with it. *

By the beginning of the fourth century from the building of Rome, the tribunes proceeded so far in the name of the commons, as to accuse and fine the consuls themselves, who represented the kingly power. And the senate observing, how in all contentions they were forced to yield to the tribunes and people, thought it their wisest course to give way also to time ; therefore a decree was made to send ambassadors to Athens, and to the other Grecian commonwealths planted in that part of Italy called Græcia Major, to make a collection of the best laws ; out of which, and some of their own, a new complete body of law was formed, afterward known by the name of the laws of the twelve tables.

To digest these laws into order, ten men were chosen, and the administration of all affairs left in their hands ; what use they made of it has been already shown. It was certainly a great revolution, produced entirely by the many unjust encroachments of the people ; and might have wholly changed the fate of Rome, if the folly and vice of those, who were chiefly concerned, could have suffered it to take root.

A few years after, the commons made farther advances on the power of the nobles ; demanding among the rest, that the consulship, which hitherto had only been disposed to the former, should now lie in common to the pretensions of any Roman whatsoever. This, though it

* Dionys. Halicar.

failed at present, yet afterward obtained, and was a mighty step to the ruin of the commonwealth.

What I have hitherto said of Rome has been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent writer Dionysius Halicarnasseus, whose history, through the injury of time, reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth century after the building of Rome. The rest I shall supply from other authors; though I do not think it necessary to deduce this matter any farther so very particularly as I have hitherto done.

To point at what time the balance of power was most equally held between the lords and commons in Rome would perhaps admit a controversy. Polybius tells us, * that in the second Punic war the Carthaginians were declining, because the balance was got too much on the side of the people; whereas the Romans were in their greatest vigour by the power remaining in the senate: yet this was between two and three hundred years after the period Dionysius ends with; in which time the commons had made several farther acquisitions. This, however, must be granted, that, (till about the middle of the fourth century,) when the senate appeared resolute at any time upon exerting their authority, and adhered closely together, they did often carry their point. Besides, it is observed by the best authors, † that in all the quarrels and tumults at Rome, from the expulsion of the kings, though the people frequently proceeded to rude contumelious language, and sometimes so far as to pull and hale one another about the forum, yet no blood was ever drawn in any popular commotions, till the time of the Gracchi: however, I am of opinion, that the balance

* Fragm. lib. 6.

† Dionys. Hal. Plutarch, &c.

had begun many years before to lean to the popular side. But this default was corrected, partly by the principle just mentioned, of never drawing blood in a tumult; partly by the warlike genius of the people, which in those ages was almost perpetually employed; and partly by their great commanders, who, by the credit they had in their armies, fell into the scales as a farther counterpoise to the growing power of the people. Besides, Polybius, who lived in the time of Scipio Africanus the younger, had the same apprehensions of the continual encroachments made by the commons; and being a person of as great abilities, and as much sagacity, as any of his age, from observing the corruptions, which, he says, had already entered into the Roman constitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the issue of them. His words are very remarkable, and with little addition may be rendered to this purpose: * “ That those abuses and corruptions, which in time destroy a government, are sown along with the very seeds of it, and both grow up together; and that as rust eats away iron, and worms devour wood, and both are a sort of plagues born and bred along with the substance they destroy; so with every form and scheme of government that man can invent, some vice or corruption creeps in with the very institution, which grows up along with, and at last destroys it.” The same author, † in another place, ventures so far as to guess at the particular fate which would attend the Roman government. He says, its ruin would arise from the popular tumults, which would introduce a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people; wherein it is certain he had reason, and

* Lib. 5.

† Fragm. lib. 6.

therefore might have adventured to pursue his conjectures so far, as to the consequences of a popular tyranny, which, as perpetual experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary government of a single person.

About the middle of the fourth century from the building of Rome, it was declared lawful for nobles and plebeians to intermarry; which custom, among many other states, has proved the most effectual means to ruin the former, and raise the latter.

And now the greatest employments in the state were, one after another, by laws forcibly enacted by the commons, made free to the people; the consulship itself, the office of censor, that of the quæstors or commissioners of the treasury, the office of prætor or chief-justice, the priesthood, and even that of dictator: the senate, after long opposition, yielding, merely for present quiet, to the continual urging clamours of the commons, and of the tribunes their advocates. A law was likewise enacted, that the *plebiscita*, or a vote of the house of commons, should be of universal obligation; nay, in time the method of enacting laws was wholly inverted; for, whereas the senate used of old to confirm the *plebiscita*, the people did at last, as they pleased, confirm or disannul the *senatus consulta*.*

Appius Claudius brought in a custom of admitting to the senate the sons of freedmen, or of such who had once been slaves; by which, and succeeding alterations of the like nature, that great council degenerated into a most corrupt and factious body of men, divided against itself; and its authority became despised.

The century and half following, to the end of the

* Dionys. lib. ii.

third Punic war by the destruction of Carthage, was a very busy period at Rome ; the intervals between every war being so short, that the tribunes and people had hardly leisure or breath to engage in domestic dissensions : however, the little time they could spare was generally employed the same way. So, Terentius Leo, a tribune, is recorded to have basely prostituted the privileges of a Roman citizen, in perfect spite to the nobles. So, the great African Scipio and his brother, after all their mighty services, were impeached by an ungrateful commons.

However, the warlike genius of the people, and continual employment they had for it, served to divert this humour from running into a head, till the age of the Gracchi.

These persons, entering the scene in the time of a full peace, fell violently upon advancing the power of the people, by reducing into practice all those encroachments which they had been so many years gaining. There were at that time certain conquered lands to be divided, beside a great private estate left by a king ; these, the tribunes, by procurement of the elder Gracchus, declared by their legislative authority, were not to be disposed of by the nobles, but by the commons only. The younger brother pursued the same design ; and, besides, obtained a law, that all Italians should vote at elections, as well as the citizens of Rome : in short, the whole endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the nobles' authority in all things, but especially in the matter of judicature. And though they both lost their lives in those pursuits, yet they traced out such ways as were afterward followed by

Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar, to the ruin of the Roman freedom and greatness.

For in the time of Marius, Saturninus, a tribune, procured a law, that the senate should be bound by oath to agree to whatever the people would enact; and Marius, himself, while he was in that office of tribune, is recorded to have with great industry used all endeavours for depressing the nobles, and raising the people, particularly for cramping the former in their power of judicature, which was their most ancient inherent right.

Sylla, by the same measures, became absolute tyrant of Rome: he added three hundred commons to the senate, which perplexed the power of the whole order, and rendered it ineffectual; then flinging off the mask, he abolished the office of tribune, as being only a scaffold to tyranny, whereof he had no farther use.

As to Pompey and Cæsar, Plutarch tells us, that their union for pulling down the nobles (by their credit with the people) was the cause of the civil war, which ended in the tyranny of the latter; both of them in their consulships having used all endeavours and occasions for sinking the authority of the patricians, and giving way to all encroachments of the people, wherein they expected best to find their own account.

From this deduction of popular encroachments in Rome, the reader will easily judge, how much the balance was fallen upon that side. Indeed, by this time the very foundation was removed, and it was a moral impossibility that the republic could subsist any longer: for the commons having usurped the offices of state, and trampled on the senate, there was no government left but a *dominatio plebis*. Let us there-

fore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think it is a universal truth, that the people are much more dexterous at pulling down and setting up, than at preserving what is fixed ; and they are not fonder of seizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the worst bidder, with their own into the bargain. For, although in their corrupt notions of divine worship, they are apt to multiply their gods ; yet their earthly devotion is seldom paid to above one idol at a time, of their own creation, whose oar they pull with less murmuring, and much more skill, than when they share the lading, or even hold the helm.

The several provinces of the Roman empire were now governed by the great men of their state ; those upon the frontiers, with powerful armies, either for conquest or defence. These governors, upon any designs of revenge or ambition, were sure to meet with a divided power at home, and therefore bent all their thoughts and applications to close in with the people, who were now by many degrees the stronger party. Two of the greatest spirits that Rome ever produced happened to live at the same time, and to be engaged in the same pursuit ; and this at a conjuncture the most dangerous for such a contest ; these were Pompey and Cæsar, two stars of such a magnitude, that their conjunction was as likely to be fatal as their opposition.

The tribunes and people, having now subdued all competitors, began the last game of a prevalent populace, which is that of choosing themselves a master ; while the nobles foresaw, and used all endeavours left them to prevent it. The people at first made Pompey their admiral, with full power over all the Mediterranean, soon

after captain-general of all the Roman forces, and governor of Asia. Pompey, on the other side, restored the office of tribune, which Sylla had put down; and in his consulship procured a law for examining into the miscarriages of men in office or command for twenty years past. Many other examples of Pompey's popularity are left us on record, who was a perfect favourite of the people, and designed to be more; but his pretensions grew stale for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the stage. For Cæsar, with his legions in Gaul, was a perpetual check upon his designs; and in the arts of pleasing the people, did soon after get many lengths beyond him. For he tells us himself, that the senate, by a bold effort, having made some severe decrees against his proceedings, and against the tribunes, these all left the city, and went over to his party, and consequently along with them the affections and interests of the people; which is farther manifest from the accounts he gives us of the citizens in several towns mutinying against their commanders, and delivering both to his devotion. Besides, Cæsar's public and avowed pretensions for beginning the civil war were, to restore the tribunes and the people, oppressed (as he pretended) by the nobles.

This forced Pompey, against his inclinations, upon the necessity of changing sides, for fear of being forsaken by both; and of closing in with the senate and chief magistrates, by whom he was chosen general against Cæsar.

Thus at length the senate (at least the primitive part of them, the nobles) under Pompey, and the commons under Cæsar, came to a final decision of the long quarrels between them. For, I think, the ambition of pri-

vate men did by no means begin or occasion this war ; though civil dissensions never fail of introducing and spiriting the ambition of private men : who thus become indeed the great instruments for deciding such quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the prize. But no man, that sees a flock of vultures hovering over two armies ready to engage, can justly charge the blood drawn in the battle to them, though the carcasses fall to their share. For, while the balance of power is equally held, the ambition of private men, whether orators or great commanders, gives neither danger nor fear, nor can possibly enslave their country ; but that once broken, the divided parties are forced to unite each to its head, under whose conduct or fortune one side is at first victorious, and at last both are slaves. And to put it past dispute, that this entire subversion of the Roman liberty and constitution was altogether owing to those measures which had broke the balance between the patricians and plebeians, whereof the ambition of particular men was but an effect and consequence, we need only consider, that when the uncorrupted part of the senate had, by the death of Cæsar, made one great effort to restore the former state and liberty, the success did not answer their hopes ; but that whole assembly was so sunk in its authority, that those patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the madness of the people, who, by their own dispositions, stirred up with the harangues of their orators, were now wholly bent upon single and despotic slavery. Else, how could such a profligate as Antony, or a boy of eighteen, like Octavius, ever dare to dream of giving the law to such an empire and people ? wherein the latter succeeded, and entailed the vilest tyranny that Heaven, in its anger,

ever inflicted on a corrupt and poisoned people. And this, with so little appearance at Cæsar's death, that when Cicero wrote to Brutus, how he had prevailed by his credit with Octavius to promise him (Brutus) pardon and security for his person, that great Roman received the notice with the utmost indignity, and returned Cicero an answer, yet upon record, full of the highest resentment and contempt for such an offer, and from such a hand.

Here ended all show or shadow of liberty in Rome. Here was the repository of all the wise contentions and struggles for power between the nobles and commons, lapped up safely in the bosom of a Nero and a Caligula, a Tiberius and a Domitian.

Let us now see, from this deduction of particular impeachments, and general dissensions in Greece and Rome, what conclusions may naturally be formed for instruction of any other state, that may haply upon many points labour under the like circumstances.

CHAP. IV.

UPON the subject of impeachments we may observe, that the custom of accusing the nobles to the people, either by themselves, or their orators, (now styled an impeachment in the name of the commons,) has been very ancient both in Greece and Rome, as well as Carthage; and therefore may seem to be the inherent right of a free people, nay, perhaps it is really so: but then it is to be considered, first, that this custom was peculiar to repub-

lies, or such states where the administration lay principally in the hands of the commons, and ever raged more or less, according to their encroachments upon absolute power ; having been always looked upon by the wisest men and best authors of those times as an effect of licentiousness, and not of liberty ; a distinction, which no multitude, either represented or collective, has been at any time very nice in observing. However, perhaps this custom in a popular state, of impeaching particular men, may seem to be nothing else, but the people's choosing upon occasion to exercise their own jurisdiction in person ; as if a king of England should sit as chief justice in his court of King's Bench ; which, they say, in former times he sometimes did. But in Sparta, which was called a kingly government, though the people were perfectly free, yet because the administration was in the two kings and the ephori, with the assistance of the senate, we read of no impeachments by the people ; nor was the process against great men, either upon account of ambition or ill conduct, though it reached sometimes to kings themselves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect, but only passed through those hands where the administration lay. So likewise, during the regal government in Rome, though it was instituted a mixed monarchy, and the people made great advances in power, yet I do not remember to have read of one impeachment from the commons against a patrician, until the consular state began, and the people had made great encroachments upon the administration.

Another thing to be considered is, that, allowing this right of impeachment to be as inherent as they please, yet, if the commons have been perpetually mistaken in the merits of the causes and the persons, as well as in the

consequences of such impeachments upon the peace of the state, we cannot conclude less, than that the commons in Greece and Rome (whatever they may be in other states) were by no means qualified, either as prosecutors or judges in such matters ; and, therefore, that it would have been prudent to have reserved these privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging occasions, where the state is in apparent danger, the universal body of the people in clamours against the administration, and no other remedy in view. But for a few popular orators or tribunes, upon the score of personal piques ; or to employ the pride they conceive in seeing themselves at the head of a party ; or as a method for advancement ; or moved by certain powerful arguments that could make Demosthenes philippize : for such men, I say, when the state would of itself gladly be quiet, and has, besides, affairs of the last importance upon the anvil, to impeach Miltiades, after a great naval victory, for not pursuing the Persian fleet ; to impeach Aristides, the person most versed among them in the knowledge and practice of their laws, for a blind suspicion of his acting in an arbitrary way, that is, as they expound it, not in concert with the people ; to impeach Pericles, after all his services, for a few inconsiderable accounts ; or to impeach Phocion, who had been guilty of no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace and security of his country : what could the continuance of such proceedings end in, but the utter discouragement of all virtuous actions and persons, and consequently in the ruin of a state ? Therefore the historians of those ages seldom fail to set this matter in all its lights, leaving us in the highest and most honourable ideas of those persons who suffered by the persecution of the people,

together with the fatal consequences they had, and how the persecutors seldom failed to repent, when it was too late.

These impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the best men both in Greece and Rome, are a cloud of witnesses, and examples enough to discourage men of virtue and abilities from engaging in the service of the public; and help on the other side to introduce the ambitious, the covetous, the superficial, and the ill designing; who are as apt to be bold, and forward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious, and modest, and reserved. This was so well known in Greece, that an eagerness after employments in the state was looked upon by wise men as the worst title a man could set up: and made Plato say, That if all men were as good as they ought to be, the quarrel in a commonwealth would be, not, as it is now, who should be ministers of state, but who should not be so. And Socrates is introduced by Xenophon* severely chiding a friend of his for not entering into the public service, when he was every way qualified for it: such a backwardness there was at that time among good men to engage with a usurping people, and a set of pragmatistical ambitious orators. And Diodorus tells us, † that when the petalism ‡ was erected at Syracuse, in imitation of the ostracism at Athens, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either birth or merit to recommend them, that whoever possessed either withdrew for fear, and would have no concern in public

* Lib. Memorab.

† Lib. 11.

‡ Popular votes of banishment by petalism were so called, because the voters inscribed the name of the accused person on a leaf, as in the ostracism it was marked on a shell.

affairs. So that the people themselves were forced to abrogate it, for fear of bringing all things into confusion.

There is one thing more to be observed, wherein all the popular impeachments in Greece and Rome seem to have agreed ; and that was, a notion they had of being concerned in point of honour to condemn whatever person they impeached, however frivolous the articles were upon which they began, or however weak the surmises whereon they were to proceed in their proofs. For, to conceive that the body of the people could be mistaken, was an indignity not to be imagined, till the consequences had convinced them, when it was past remedy. And I look upon this as a fate to which all popular accusations are subject ; though I should think that the saying, *Vox populi vox Dei*, ought to be understood of the universal bent and current of a people, not of the bare majority of a few representatives, which is often procured by little arts, and great industry and application ; wherein those, who engage in the pursuits of malice and revenge, are much more sedulous than such as would prevent them.

From what has been deduced of the dissensions in Rome between the two bodies of patricians and plebeians, several reflections may be made.

First, That when the balance of power is duly fixed in a state, nothing is more dangerous or unwise than to give way to the first steps of popular encroachments, which is usually done either in hopes of procuring ease and quiet from some vexatious clamour, or else made merchandize, and merely bought and sold. This is breaking into a constitution to serve a present expedient, or supply a present exigency : the remedy of an empiric, to stifle the present pain, but with certain prospect of

sudden and terrible returns. When a child grows easy and content by being humoured ; and when a lover becomes satisfied by small compliances, without farther pursuits ; then expect to find popular assemblies content with small concessions. If there could one single example be brought from the whole compass of history, of any one popular assembly, who, after beginning to contend for power, ever sat down quietly with a certain share ; or if one instance could be produced of a popular assembly that ever knew, or proposed, or declared what share of power was their due ; then might there be some hopes that it were a matter to be adjusted by reasonings, by conferences, or debates : but since all that is manifestly otherwise, I see no other course to be taken in a settled state, than a steady constant resolution in those, to whom the rest of the balance is entrusted, never to give way so far to popular clamours, as to make the least breach in the constitution, through which a million of abuses and encroachments will certainly in time force their way.

Again, from this deduction it will not be difficult to gather and assign certain marks of popular encroachments ; by observing which, those who hold the balance in a state may judge of the degrees, and, by early remedies and application, put a stop to the fatal consequences that would otherwise ensue. What those marks are has been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

Another consequence is this, that (with all respect for popular assemblies be it spoken) it is hard to recollect one folly, infirmity, or vice, to which a single man is subjected, and from which a body of commons, either collective or represented, can be wholly exempt. For, beside that they are composed of men with all their infir-

mities about them, they have also the ill fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worst among themselves, I mean popular orators, tribunes, or, as they are now styled, great speakers, leading men, and the like. Whence it comes to pass, that in their results we have sometimes found the same spirit of cruelty and revenge, of malice and pride, the same blindness and obstinacy and unsteadiness, the same ungovernable rage and anger, the same injustice, sophistry, and fraud, that ever lodged in the breast of any individual.

Again, in all free states, the evil to be avoided is tyranny, that is to say, the *summa imperii*, or unlimited power solely in the hands of the one, the few, or the many. Now, we have shown, that although most revolutions of government in Greece and Rome began with the tyranny of the people, yet they generally concluded in that of a single person; so that a usurping populace is its own dupe, a mere underworker, and a purchaser in trust for some single tyrant, whose state and power they advance to their own ruin, with as blind an instinct as those worms that die with weaving magnificent habits for beings of a superior nature to their own.

CHAP. V.

SOME reflections upon the late public proceedings among us, and that variety of factions into which we are still so intricately engaged, gave occasion to this discourse. I am not conscious, that I have forced one ex-

ample, or put it into any other light than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.

I cannot conclude, without adding some particular remarks upon the present posture of affairs and dispositions in this kingdom.

The fate of empire is grown a common-place : that all forms of government having been instituted by men, must be mortal like their authors, and have their periods of duration limited, as well as those of private persons. This is a truth of vulgar knowledge and observation : but there are few who turn their thoughts to examine how those diseases in a state are bred, that hasten its end ; which would, however, be a very useful inquiry.— For, though we cannot prolong the period of a commonwealth beyond the decree of Heaven, or the date of its nature, any more than human life beyond the strength of the seminal virtue, yet we may manage a sickly constitution, and preserve a strong one ; we may watch and prevent accidents ; we may turn off a great blow from without, and purge away an ill humour that is lurking within : and by these, and other such methods, render a state long-lived, though not immortal. Yet some physicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the several humours of the body in an exact equal balance of each with its opposite, it might be immortal, and so perhaps would a political body, if the balance of power could be always held exactly even. But, I doubt, this is as impossible in practice as the other.

It has an appearance of fatality, and that the period of a state approaches, when a concurrence of many circumstances, both within and without, unite toward its ruin ; while the whole body of the people are either stupidly negligent, or else giving in with all their might

to those very practices that are working their destruction. To see whole bodies of men breaking a constitution by the very same errors that so many have been broke before ; to observe opposite parties who can agree in nothing else, yet firmly united in such measures as must certainly ruin their country ; in short, to be encompassed with the greatest dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent factions within ; then to be secure and senseless under all this, and to make it the very least of our concern ; these, and some others that might be named, appear to me to be the most likely symptoms in a state of a sickness unto death.

*Quod procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans :
Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.*

LUCRET.

There are some conjunctures, wherein the death or dissolution of government is more lamentable in its consequences, than it would be in others.—And, I think, a state can never arrive to its period in a more deplorable crisis, than at a time when some prince in the neighbourhood, of vast power and ambition, lies hovering like a vulture to devour, or, at least, dismember its dying carcase ; by which means it becomes only a province or acquisition to some mighty monarchy, without hopes of a resurrection.

I know very well, there is a set of sanguine tempers, who deride and ridicule, in the number of fopperies, all such apprehensions as these. They have it ready in their mouths, that the people of England are of a genius and temper never to admit slavery among them ; and they are furnished with a great many common-places upon that subject. But it seems to me, that such dis-

coursers do reason upon short views, and a very moderate compass of thought. For, I think it a great error to count upon the genius of a nation as a standing argument in all ages, since there is hardly a spot of ground in Europe, where the inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their temper and genius. Neither can I see any reason, why the genius of a nation should be more fixed in the point of government than in their morals, their learning, their religion, their common humour and conversation, their diet and their complexion; which do all notoriously vary almost in every age, and may every one of them have great effects upon men's notions of government.

Since the Norman conquest, the balance of power in England has often varied, and sometimes been wholly overturned; the part which the commons had in it, (that most disputed point,) in its original progress and extent, was, by their own confessions, but a very inconsiderable share. Generally speaking, they have been gaining ever since, though with frequent interruptions and slow progress.—The abolishing of villanage, together with the custom introduced (or permitted) among the nobles, of selling their lands in the reign of Henry the Seventh, was a mighty addition to the power of the commons: yet I think a much greater happened in the time of his successor, at the dissolution of the abbeys; for this turned the clergy wholly out of the scale, who had so long filled it; and placed the commons in their stead: who, in a few years, became possessed of vast quantities of those and other lands, by grant or purchase. About the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, I take the power between the nobles and the commons to have been in more equal balance, than it was ever before or

since. But then, or soon after, arose a faction in England, which, under the name of Puritan, began to grow popular, by moulding up their new schemes of religion with republican principles in government; and gaining upon the prerogative as well as the nobles, under several denominations, for the space of about sixty years, did at last overthrow the constitution, and, according to the usual course of such revolutions, did introduce a tyranny, first of the people, and then of a single person.

In a short time after, the old government was revived. But the progress of affairs for almost thirty years, under the reigns of two weak princes, * is a subject of a different nature: when the balance was in danger to be overturned by the hands that held it, which was at last very seasonably prevented by the late revolution. However, as it is the talent of human nature to run from one extreme to another, so in a very few years we have made mighty leaps from prerogative heights into the depth of popularity, and I doubt to the very last degree that our constitution will bear. It were to be wished, that the most august assembly of the commons would please to form a pandect of their own power and privileges, to be confirmed by the entire legislative authority, and that in as solemn a manner (if they please) as the *magna charta*. But to fix one foot of their compass wherever they think fit, and extend the other to such terrible lengths, without describing any circumference at all, is to leave us and ourselves in a very uncertain state, and in a sort of rotation, that the author of the *Oceana* † never dreamed

* Charles II. and James II.

† Mr James Harrington, who, in the time of the Commonwealth, published an Utopian scheme of government, entitled, *The Com-*

on. I believe the most hardy tribune will not venture to affirm at present, that any just fears of encroachment are given us from the regal power, or the few : and is it then impossible to err on the other side ? How far must we proceed, or where shall we stop ? The raging of the sea, and the madness of the people, are put together in holy writ ; and it is God alone who can say to either, *Hitherto shalt thou pass, and no farther.*

The balance of power in a limited state is of such absolute necessity, that Cromwell himself, before he had perfectly confirmed his tyranny, having some occasions for the appearance of a parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new House of Lords (such as it was) for a counterpoise to the commons. And, indeed, considering the vileness of the clay, I have sometimes wondered, that no tribune of that age durst ever venture to ask the potter, *What dost thou make ?* * But it was then about the last act of a popular usurpation ; and fate, or Cromwell, had already prepared them for that of a single person.

I have been often amazed at the rude, passionate, and mistaken results, which have at certain times fallen from great assemblies, both ancient and modern, and of other countries as well as our own.—This gave me the opinion,

monwealth of Oceana. Several speculative persons, and among others Mr Henry Neville, embraced his visions as realities, and held a club called the Rota, in Palace Yard, Westminster, to consider of means to make his plan efficient. One article was, that a part of the senate should go out by rote, and become incapable of serving for a certain time.

* Pride the Brewer, Hewson the Cobbler, and such other upstarts as the civil war had called into eminence, were summoned to this Upper House by writ.

I mentioned a while ago, that public conventions are liable to all the infirmities, follies, and vices of private men. To which, if there be any exception, it must be of such assemblies, who act by universal concert, upon public principles, and for public ends ; such as proceed upon debates without unbecoming warmths, or influence from particular leaders and inflamers ; such, whose members, instead of canvassing to procure majorities for their private opinions, are ready to comply with general sober results, though contrary to their own sentiments. Whatever assemblies act by these, and other methods of the like nature, must be allowed to be exempt from several imperfections, to which particular men are subjected. But I think the source of most mistakes and miscarriages in matters debated by public assemblies, arises from the influence of private persons upon great numbers, styled, in common phrase, leading men and parties. And, therefore, when we sometimes meet a few words put together, which is called the vote or resolution of an assembly, and which we cannot possibly reconcile to prudence, or public good, it is most charitable to conjecture, that such a vote has been conceived, and born, and bred in a private brain ; afterward raised and supported by an obsequious party ; and then with usual methods confirmed by an artificial majority. For, let us suppose five hundred men, mixed in point of sense and honesty, as usually assemblies are ; and let us suppose these men proposing, debating, resolving, voting, according to the mere natural motions of their own little or much reason and understanding ; I do allow, that abundance of indigested and abortive, many pernicious and foolish overtures would arise, and float a few minutes ; but then they would die and disappear. Because, this must be said in behalf of

humankind, that common sense and plain reason, while men are disengaged from acquired opinions, will ever have some general influence upon their minds ; whereas the species of folly and vice are infinite, and so different in every individual, that they could never procure a majority, if other corruptions did not enter to pervert men's understandings, and misguide their wills.

To describe how parties are bred in an assembly, would be a work too difficult at present, and perhaps not altogether safe. *Periculosæ plenum opus alex.* Whether those, who are leaders, usually arrive at that station more by a sort of instinct or secret composition of their nature, or influence of the stars, than by the possession of any great abilities, may be a point of much dispute ; but when the leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be followers. And man is so apt to imitate, so much of the nature of sheep, (*imitatores, servum pecus,*) that whoever is so bold to give the first great leap over the heads of those about him, though he be the worst of the flock, shall be quickly followed by the rest. Besides, when parties are once formed, the stragglers look so ridiculous, and become so insignificant, that they have no other way but to run into the herd, which at least will hide and protect them : and where to be much considered, requires only to be very violent.

But there is one circumstance with relation to parties, which I take to be, of all others, most pernicious in a state ; and I would be glad any partizan would help me to a tolerable reason, that because Clodius and Curio happen to agree with me in a few singular notions, I must therefore blindly follow them in all : or, to state it at best, that because Bibulus the party-man is persuaded that Clodius and Curio do really propose the good of

their country as their chief end ; therefore Bibulus shall be wholly guided and governed by them in the means and measures toward it. Is it enough for Bibulus, and the rest of the herd, to say, without farther examining, I am of the side with Clodius, or I vote with Curio ? Are these proper methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the united wisdom of the nation ? Is it not possible, that upon some occasion Clodius may be bold and insolent, borne away by his passion, malicious and revengeful ? That Curio may be corrupt, and expose to sale his tongue or his pen ? I conceive it far below the dignity, both of human nature and human reason, to be engaged in any party, the most plausible soever, upon such servile conditions.

This influence of one upon many, which seems to be as great in a people represented, as it was of old in the commons collective, together with the consequences it has had upon the legislature, has given me frequent occasion to reflect upon what Diodorus tells us of one Charondas, a lawgiver to the Sybarites, an ancient people of Italy, who was so averse from all innovation, especially when it was to proceed from particular persons, (and I suppose, that he might put it out of the power of men fond of their own notions to disturb the constitution at their pleasures, by advancing private schemes;) that he provided a statute, that whoever proposed any alteration to be made, should step out and do it with a rope about his neck : if the matter proposed were generally approved, then it should pass into a law ; if it went into the negative, the proposer to be immediately hanged. Great ministers may talk of what projects they please ; but I am deceived if a more effectual one could ever be found for taking off (as the present phrase is) those hot, unquiet

spirits, who disturb assemblies, and obstruct public affairs, by gratifying their pride, their malice, their ambition, or their avarice.

Those who in a late reign began the distinction between the personal and politic capacity, seem to have had reason, if they judged of princes by themselves; for, I think, there is hardly to be found through all nature a greater difference between two things, than there is between a representing commoner in the function of his public calling, and the same person when he acts in the common offices of life. Here he allows himself to be upon a level with the rest of mortals; here he follows his own reason, and his own way; and rather affects a singularity in his actions and thoughts, than servilely to copy either from the wisest of his neighbours. In short, here his folly and his wisdom, his reason and his passions, are all of his own growth, not the echo or infusion of other men. But when he is got near the walls of his assembly, he assumes and affects an entire set of very different airs; he conceives himself a being of a superior nature to those without, and acting in a sphere where the vulgar methods for the conduct of human life can be of no use. He is listed in a party where he neither knows the temper, nor designs, nor perhaps the person, of his leader; but whose opinions he follows and maintains with a zeal and faith as violent as a young scholar does those of a philosopher whose sect he is taught to profess. He has neither opinions, nor thoughts, nor actions, nor talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his leader, as wind is through an organ. The nourishment he receives has been not only chewed, but digested, before it comes into his mouth. Thus instructed, he follows the party, right or wrong,

through all his sentiments, and acquires a courage and stiffness of opinion not at all congenial with him.

This encourages me to hope, that, during the present lucid interval, the members retired to their homes may suspend a while their acquired complexions, and, taught by the calmness of the scene and the season, reassume the native sedateness of their temper. If this should be so, it would be wise in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the storms they have raised, as well as those they have escaped: to reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a House of Commons to lose the universal favour of the numbers they represent: to observe how those whom they thought fit to persecute for righteousness sake have been openly caressed by the people; and to remember how themselves sate in fear of their persons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the secret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their masters, they must not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuse of setting individuals upon their shoulders, who were hated by God and man. For it seems the mass of the people, in such conjunctures as this, have opened their eyes, and will not endure to be governed by Clodius and Curio, at the head of their myrmidons, though these be ever so numerous, and composed of their own representatives.

This aversion of the people against the late proceedings of the commons is an accident, that, if it last a while, might be improved to good uses for setting the balance of power a little more upon an equality than their late measures seem to promise or admit. This accident may be imputed to two causes: the first is a uni-

versal fear and apprehension of the greatness and power of France, whereof the people in general seem to be very much and justly possessed, and, therefore, cannot but resent to see it, in so critical a juncture, wholly laid aside by their ministers, the commons. The other cause is a great love and sense of gratitude in the people toward their present king, grounded upon a long opinion and experience of his merit, as well as concessions to all their reasonable desires ; so that it is for some time they have begun to say, and to fetch instances where he has in many things been hardly used. How long these humours may last, (for passions are momentary, and especially those of a multitude,) or what consequences they may produce, a little time will discover. But whenever it comes to pass that a popular assembly, free from such obstructions, and already possessed of more power than an equal balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the hand that holds the balance, and by impeachments or dissensions with the nobles, endeavour still for more ; I cannot possibly see, in the common course of things, how the same causes can produce different effects and consequences among us, from what they did in Greece and Rome.

THE
EXAMINER.

WHEN the Tory party, under the auspices of Harley and St John, had succeeded in displacing the able and successful administration of Godolphin, their leaders were not ignorant, that, in order to maintain the ascendance which they had gained, it was necessary at once to defend their own measures, and to arraign those of their predecessors, before the British public. With this view the EXAMINER was weekly published, in which St John himself, Atterbury, Prior, Dr Freind, and other wits of the party, exercised their powers of reasoning and of sarcasm. It became necessary, however, to devolve the task of regularly conducting the paper upon an individual author, and Swift was selected for that purpose. He was then just returned from Ireland, stung with resentment at the neglect he had experienced from Lord Wharton, and burning for revenge upon the whole Whig party. Upon the first proposal, he seems readily to have undertaken a task so congenial to his feelings; and the following Examiners, from the 13th to the 45th Number inclusive, are evidence of the spirit with which he carried on the warfare. He also wrote the first part of Number 46. Upon the character and consequences of this political publication we have already fully spoken in the Life of the Author.

THE
EXAMINER.

No. XIII.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1710.

— *longa est injuria, longæ
Ambages ; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.*

The tale is intricate, perplexed, and long ;
Hear then, in short, the story of her wrong.

It is a practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal freedom with the deserving men of both parties ; and it was never without some contempt that I have observed persons, wholly out of employment, affect to do otherwise. I doubted whether any man could owe so much to the side he was of, although he were retained by it ; but without some great point of interest, either in possession or prospect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow spirit.

It is hard, that, for some weeks past, I have been forced, in my own defence, to follow a proceeding that I have so much condemned in others. But several of my acquaintance among the declining party are grown so insufferably peevish and splenetic, profess such violent apprehensions for the public, and represent the state of things in such formidable ideas, that I find myself disposed to share in their afflictions ; although I know them to be groundless and imaginary, or, which is worse, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an endless, but a disobliging task. Some of them,

I am convinced, would be less melancholy, if there were more occasion. I shall, therefore, instead of hearkening to farther complaints, employ some part of this paper for the future, in letting such men see, that their natural or acquired fears are ill-founded, and their artificial ones as ill-intended ; that all our present inconveniences are the consequence of the very counsels they so much admire, which would still have increased, if those had continued ; and that neither our constitution in church or state could probably have been long preserved, without such methods as have been already taken.

The late revolutions at court have given room to some specious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men, just as they had taken them up on the credit of others, who have worse designs. They wonder the queen would choose to change her ministry at this juncture, and thereby give uneasiness to a general who hath been so long successful abroad, and might think himself injured, if the entire ministry were not of his own nomination ; that there were few complaints of any consequence against the late men in power, and none at all in parliament, which, on the contrary, passed votes in favour of the chief minister ; that if her majesty had a mind to introduce the other party, it would have been more seasonable after a peace, which now we have made desperate, by spiring the French, who rejoice in these changes, and by the fall of our credit, which unqualifies us for carrying on the war ; that the parliament, so untimely dissolved, had been diligent in their supplies, and dutiful in their behaviour ; that one consequence of these changes appears already in the fall of the stocks ; that we may soon expect more and worse ; and lastly, that all this naturally tends to break the settlement of the Crown, and call over the Pretender.

These and the like notions are plentifully scattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party, to render the queen and her administration odious, and to inflame the nation. And these are what, upon occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow, by discovering the falsehood and absurdity of them.

It is a great unhappiness, when, in a government constituted like ours, it should be so brought about, that the continuance of a war must be for the interest of vast numbers, (civil as well as military,) who otherwise would have been as unknown as their original. I think our present condition of affairs is admirably described by two verses in Lucan :

*Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore scenus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum :*

which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus translated :

Hence are derived those exorbitant interests and annuities ; hence those large discounts for advance and prompt payment ; hence public credit is shaken ; and hence great numbers find their profit in prolonging the war.

It is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourselves, there should so many be found to close in with those counsels, who have been ever averse from all overtures towards a peace : but yet there is no great mystery in the matter. Let any man observe the equipages in this town, he shall find the greater number of those who make a figure to be a species of men quite different from any that were ever known before the Revolution ; consisting either of generals and colonels, or of those whose whole fortunes lie in funds and stocks ; so that power, which, according to the old maxim, was used to follow

land, is now gone over to money ; and the country gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whose estate a scrivener receives half the rents for interest, and has a mortgage on the whole ; and is, therefore, always ready to feed his vices and extravagances, while there is any thing left. So that, if the war continue some years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army, and to the public funds.

It may, perhaps, be worth inquiring, from what beginnings, and by what steps, we have been brought into this desperate condition : and in search of this, we must run up as high as the Revolution.

Most of the nobility and gentry, who invited over the Prince of Orange, or attended him in his expedition, were true lovers of their country, and its constitution in church and state ; and were brought to yield to those breaches in the succession of the crown, out of a regard to the necessity of the kingdom, and the safety of the people, which did, and could only make them lawful ; but without intention of drawing such a practice into precedent, or making it a standing measure by which to proceed in all times to come : and, therefore, we find their counsels ever tended to keep things, as much as possible, in the old course. But soon after, an under set of men, who had nothing to lose, and had neither borne the burden nor heat of the day, found means to whisper in the king's ear, that the principles of loyalty in the Church of England were wholly inconsistent with the Revolution. Hence began the early practice of caressing the dissenters, reviling the universities as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance. At the same time, in order to fasten

wealthy people to the new government, they proposed those pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vast premiums, and at extortionate interest : a practice as old as Eumenes, one of Alexander's captains, who, setting up for himself after the death of his master, persuaded his principal officers to lend him great sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own security.

This introduced a number of new dexterous men into business and credit. It was argued, that the war could not last above two or three campaigns ; and that it was easier for the subjects to raise a fund for paying interest, than to tax them annually to the full expence of the war. Several persons, who had small or encumbered estates, sold them, and turned their money into those funds, to great advantage : merchants, as well as other monied men, finding trade was dangerous, pursued the same method. But the war continuing, and growing more expensive, taxes were increased, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monstrous height we now behold them ; and that, which was at first a corruption, is at last grown necessary, and what every good subject must now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wish it might soon have an end ; because it is with a kingdom as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of a nation, that used to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the rise and fall of stocks : and although the foundation of credit be still the same, and upon a bottom that can never be shaken, and although all interest be duly paid by the public, yet, through the contrivance and cunning of stock-jobbers, there has been brought in such a complication of knave-

ry and cozenage, such a mystery of iniquity, and such an unintelligible jargon of terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed, by persons skilled in these calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of interest and annuities were added to the yearly taxes, and the four-shilling aid strictly exacted in all counties of the kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, supply the occasions of the war, at least such a part as, in the opinion of very able persons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a question, whether any wise prince or state, in the continuance of a war, which was not purely defensive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propose that his expence should perpetually exceed what he was able to impose annually upon his subjects. Neither, if the war last many years longer, do I see how the next generation will be able to begin another; which, in the course of human affairs, and according to the various interests and ambition of princes, may be as necessary for them as it has been for us. And if our fathers had left us deeply involved, as we are likely to leave our children, I appeal to any man, what sort of figure we should have been able to make these twenty years past. Besides, neither our enemies nor allies are upon the same foot with us in this particular. France and Holland, our nearest neighbours, and the farthest engaged, will much sooner recover themselves after a war: the first, by the absolute power of the prince, who, being master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts; and so will the other, by their prudent administration, the greatness of their trade, their wonderful parsimony, the willingness of their people to undergo all

kind of taxes, and their justice in applying, as well as collecting them. But above all, we are to consider, that France and Holland fight on the continent, either upon or near their own territories, and the greatest part of the money circulates among themselves; whereas ours crosses the sea, either to Flanders, Spain, or Portugal; and every penny of it, whether in species or returns, is so much lost to the nation for ever.

Upon these considerations alone, it was the most prudent course imaginable in the queen, to lay hold of the disposition of the people for changing the parliament and ministry at this juncture, and extricating herself as soon as possible out of the pupillage of those who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the least reason to doubt but the ensuing parliament will assist her majesty with the utmost vigour, until her enemies again be brought to sue for peace, and again offer such terms as will make it both honourable and lasting; only with this difference, that the ministry perhaps will not again refuse them.*

*Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara, Juventus.*

HOR. Book I. Ode 2.

* In 1709 a treaty for peace was carried on at Gertruydenberg, the Marquis de Tercy being plenipotentiary for France, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townsend for England. Preliminary articles were actually signed, but Louis XIV. declined to ratify them, objecting chiefly to that which not only excluded his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, from the Spanish monarchy, but stipulated that France should assist in compelling him to evacuate that kingdom. The Tories contended, that a clause so harsh and unnatural was only inserted by the Duke of Marlborough, in order to break off the treaty, and secure himself in his power and emoluments as commander-in-chief. The Whigs, on the other hand,

No. XIV.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1710.

*E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,
 Hi narrata ferunt alio: mensuraque ficti
 Crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit auctor.
 Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error,
 Vanaque Lætitia est, consternatique Timores,
 Seditioque recens, dubioque auctore Susurri.*

With idle tales this fills our empty ears ;
 The next reports what from the first he hears ;
 The rolling fictions grow in strength and size,
 Each author adding to the former lies.
 Here vain credulity, with new desires,
 Leads us astray, and groundless joy inspires ;
 The dubious whispers, tumults fresh design'd,
 And chilling fears astound the anxious mind.

I AM prevailed on, through the importunity of friends, to interrupt the scheme I had begun in my last paper, by an Essay upon the Art of Political Lying. We are told the devil is the father of lies, and was a liar from the beginning ; so that, beyond contradiction, the invention is old : and, which is more, his first Essay of it was purely political, employed in undermining the authority of his

insisted, that nothing less could secure the independence of the Spanish crown, and the separation between its monarchy and that of France.

Swift afterwards wrote a light and lively pamphlet, upon a more general and less factious view of this copious theme than is taken in the Examiner.

prince, and seducing a third part of the subjects from their obedience: for which he was driven down from Heaven, where (as Milton expresses it) he had been viceroy of a great western province;* and forced to exercise his talent in inferior regions among other fallen spirits, poor or deluded men, whom he still daily tempts to his own sin, and will ever do so, till he be chained in the bottomless pit.

But although the devil be the father of lies, he seems, like other great inventors, to have lost much of his reputation, by the continual improvements that have been made upon him.

Who first reduced lying into an art, and adapted it to politics, is not so clear from history, although I have made some diligent inquiries. I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern system, as it has been cultivated these twenty years past in the southern part of our own island.

The poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrown by the gods, the earth in revenge produced her last offspring, which was Fame. And the fable is thus interpreted: that when tumults and seditions are quieted, rumours and false reports are plentifully spread through a nation. So that, by this account, lying is the last relief of a routed, earth-born, rebellious party in a state. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the gaining of power and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it; as the same instruments are made use of by animals

* A proper parallel therefore for the Earl of Wharton, late lieutenant of Ireland, against whom this whole paper is directed.

to feed themselves when they are hungry, and to bite those that tread upon them.

But the same genealogy cannot always be admitted for political lying ; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some circumstances of its birth and parents. A political lie is sometimes born out of a discarded statesman's head, and thence delivered to be nursed and dandled by the rabble. Sometimes it is produced a monster, and licked into shape : at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is spoiled in the licking. It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it ; and often it sees the light in its full growth, but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth ; and sometimes the spawn of a stock-jobber. Here it screams aloud at the opening of the womb ; and there it is delivered with a whisper. I know a lie that now disturbs half the kingdom with its noise, which, although too proud and great at present to own its parents, I can remember its whisperhood. To conclude the nativity of this monster ; when it comes into the world without a sting, it is still-born ; and whenever it loses its sting, it dies.

No wonder if an infant so miraculous in its birth should be destined for great adventures ; and accordingly we see it has been the guardian spirit of a prevailing party for almost twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and sometimes with the loss of a battle. It gives and resumes employments ; can sink a mountain to a mole-hill, and raise a mole-hill to a mountain : has presided for many years at committees of elections ; can wash a blackmoor white ; make a saint of an atheist, and a patriot of a profligate ; can furnish foreign ministers with intelligence, and raise or let fall the credit of the

nation. This goddess flies with a huge looking-glass in her hands, to dazzle the crowd, and make them see, according as she turns it, their ruin in their interest, and their interest in their ruin. In this glass you will behold your best friends, clad in coats powdered with *fleurs de lis*, and triple crowns ; their girdles hung round with chains, and beads, and wooden shoes ;* and your worst enemies adorned with the ensigns of liberty, property, indulgence, moderation, and a cornucopia in their hands.† Her large wings, like those of a flying-fish, are of no use but while they are moist ; she therefore dips them in mud, and soaring aloft scatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great swiftness ; but at every turn is forced to stoop in dirty ways for new supplies.

I have been sometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the second sight for seeing lies, as they have in Scotland for seeing spirits, how admirably he might entertain himself in this town, by observing the different shapes, sizes, and colours of those swarms of lies which buzz about the heads of some people, like flies about a horse's ears in summer ; or those legions hovering every afternoon in Exchange-alley, enough to darken the air ; or over a club of discontented grandees, and thence sent down in cargoes to be scattered at elections.

There is one essential point wherein a political liar differs from others of the faculty, that he ought to have but a short memory, which is necessary, according to the various occasions he meets with every hour of differing from himself, and swearing to both sides of a contra-

* The Tories, accused of being in the interest of France.

† The Whigs, who assumed to themselves exclusively the merit of patriotism.

diction, as he finds the persons disposed with whom he has to deal. In describing the virtues and vices of mankind, it is convenient, upon every article, to have some eminent person in our eye, from whom we copy our description. I have strictly observed this rule, and my imagination this minute represents before me a certain great man * famous for this talent, to the constant practice of which he owes his twenty years reputation of the most skilful head in England, for the management of nice affairs. The superiority of his genius consists in nothing else but an inexhaustible fund of political lies, which he plentifully distributes every minute he speaks, and by an unparalleled generosity forgets, and consequently contradicts, the next half hour. He never yet considered whether any proposition were true or false, but whether it were convenient for the present minute or company to affirm or deny it; so that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he says, as we do dreams, by the contrary, you are still to seek, and will find yourself equally deceived whether you believe or not: the only remedy is to suppose, that you have heard some inarticulate sounds, without any meaning at all; and besides, that will take off the horror you might be apt to conceive at the oaths, wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every proposition; although, at the same time, I think he cannot with any justice be

* Thomas, Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Wharton. Swift owed him a grudge for neglecting him while lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and never fails on all occasions to pay it home.—See “A Short Character of the Earl of Wharton,” &c. The peculiar bitterness of these assaults arose from the neglect with which Wharton, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, treated Lord Somers’ recommendation of Swift to his patronage.

taxed with perjury, when he invokes God and Christ, because he has often fairly given public notice to the world that he believes in neither.

Some people may think, that such an accomplishment as this can be of no great use to the owner, or his party, after it has been often practised, and is become notorious; but they are widely mistaken. Few lies carry the inventor's mark, and the most prostitute enemy to truth may spread a thousand, without being known for the author: besides, as the vilest writer has his readers, so the greatest liar has his believers: and it often happens, that if a lie be believed only for an hour, it has done its work, and there is no farther occasion for it. Falsehood flies, and truth comes limping after it, so that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late; the jest is over, and the tale has had its effect: like a man, who has thought of a good repartee when the discourse is changed, or the company parted; or like a physician, who has found out an infallible medicine, after the patient is dead.

Considering that natural disposition in many men to lie, and in multitudes to believe, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim so frequent in every body's mouth, that truth will at last prevail. Here has this island of ours, for the greatest part of twenty years, lain under the influence of such counsels and persons, whose principle and interest it was to corrupt our manners, blind our understanding, drain our wealth, and in time destroy our constitution both in church and state, and we at last were brought to the very brink of ruin; yet, by the means of perpetual misrepresentations, have never been able to distinguish between our enemies and friends. We have seen a great part of the nation's money got

into the hands of those, who, by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our liveries ; while others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able to give reputation and success to the Revolution, * were not only laid aside as dangerous and useless, but loaden with the scandal of Jacobites, men of arbitrary principles, and pensioners to France ; while truth, who is said to lie in a well, seemed now to be buried there under a heap of stones. But I remember it was a usual complaint among the Whigs, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their interests, which some of the wisest looked on as an ill omen ; and we saw it was with the utmost difficulty that they could preserve a majority, while the court and ministry were on their side, till they had learned those admirable expedients for deciding elections, and influencing distant boroughs, by powerful motives from the city. But all this was mere force and constraint, however upheld by most dexterous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their properties, their religion, and the monarchy itself in danger ; when we saw them greedily laying hold on the first occasion to interpose. But of this mighty change in the dispositions of the people ; I shall discourse more at large in some following paper ; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive or discover those deluded or deluding persons, who hope, or pretend it is only a short madness in the vulgar, from which they may soon recover ; whereas, I believe, it

* Alluding to the Tories in general, and perhaps in particular to Thomas Duke of Leeds, who assisted greatly in the Revolution, yet continued a steady Tory, and avowed at Sacheverel's trial, that, had he known the Prince of Orange designed to assume the crown, he never would have drawn a sword for him.

will appear to be very different in its causes, its symptoms, and its consequences ; and prove a great example to illustrate the maxim I lately mentioned, that truth (however sometimes late) will at last prevail.

No. XV.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1710.

——— *medioque ut limite curras,*
Icare, ait, moneo : ne si demissior ibis,
Unda gravet pennas ; si celsior, ignis adurat.

——— My boy, take care
 To wing thy course along the middle air ;
 If low, the surges wet thy flagging plumes ;
 If high, the sun the melting wax consumes.

It must be avowed, that, for some years past, there have been few things more wanted in England than such a paper as this ought to be : and such I will endeavour to make it as long as it shall be found of any use, without entering into the violences of either party. Considering the many grievous misrepresentations of persons and things, it is highly requisite at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom should, if possible, be set right in their opinions by some impartial hand, which has never been yet attempted ; those who have hitherto undertaken it being, upon every account, the least qualified of all human kind for such work.

We live here under a limited monarchy, and under the doctrine and discipline of an excellent church. We

are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty zeal for our religion and government, only they disagree about the means. The evils we must fence against are, on one side, fanaticism and infidelity in religion, and anarchy, under the name of a commonwealth, in government; on the other side, popery, slavery, and the Pretender from France. Now, to inform and direct us in our sentiments upon these weighty points, here are, on one side, two stupid illiterate scribblers, both of them fanatics by profession, I mean the Review * and Observator; † on the other side, we

* The REVIEW was a paper published weekly by Daniel De Foe, who by no means deserved the harsh epithets here bestowed on him. He turned with the tide, and became temperately favourable to Harley's administration. About this time, however, he had written down his own reputation; his Review, as the author of the State of Wit assures us, having become altogether contemptible. "This fellow," adds the author of that piece, "who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits, who, as an ingenious author says, will endure but one skimming."

† The OBSERVATOR was published by John Tutchin, who had been a follower of Monmouth in his ill-fated invasion, and was sentenced by the brutal Jefferies to be flogged repeatedly, and through several towns in the west of England; a sentence so horrible, that he applied by petition to the king to have it changed to hanging. When James died in exile, Tutchin, whose personal sufferings had most naturally steeled him against compassionating the author of them, wrote a libel on his memory. This procured him a severe beating from some of the Jacobite party. Tutchin died in great poverty. Pope has classed him with De Foe in the celebrated couplet—

Earless on high stood unabashed De Foe,
And Tutchin flagrant from the scourge below.

When the Examiner opened its thunder against the Whigs, Tutchin's Observator began to show, that there were better talents than those of the ostensible author engaged in defending their cause.

have an open Nonjuror, * whose character and person, as well as learning and good sense, discovered upon other subjects, do indeed deserve respect and esteem ; but his Rehearsal, and the rest of his political papers, are yet more pernicious than those of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to talk or think, until they have read their lesson in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it that their duty should be conveyed to them through such vehicles as those ! For, let some gentlemen think what they please, I cannot but suspect that the two worthies I first mentioned have, in a degree, done mischief among us ; the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the insipid mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the lowest part of mankind. Neither was the author of the Rehearsal, while he continued that paper, less infectious to many persons of better figure, who, perhaps, were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

It was this reason that moved me to take the matter out of those rough, as well as those dirty hands ; to let the remote and uninstructed part of the nation see, that they have been misled on both sides, by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide distance on each side of the truth ; while the right path is so broad and plain as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

Farther : I had lately entered on a resolution to take little notice of other papers, unless it were such, where

* The Reverend Charles Lesley, a Nonjuring clergyman, who openly wrote in favour of the Jacobite interest, in a periodical paper called the REHEARSAL.

the malice and falsehood had so great a mixture of wit and spirit as would make them dangerous : which, in the present circle of scribblers, from twelvepence to a halfpenny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to dispense with my resolution, although it be only to tell my reader what measures I am likely to take on such occasions for the future. I was told, that the paper called *The Observer* was twice filled last week with remarks upon a late *Examiner*. These I read with the first opportunity, and, to speak in the news-writers' phrase, they gave me occasion for many speculations. I observed, with singular pleasure, the nature of those things which the owners of them usually call answers, and with what dexterity this matchless author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To transcribe here and there three or four detached lines of least weight in a discourse, and by a foolish comment mistake every syllable of the meaning, is what I have known many, of a superior class to this formidable adversary, entitle an *Answer*. * This is what he has exactly done, in about thrice as many words as my whole discourse ; which is so mighty an advantage over me, that I shall by no means engage in so unequal a combat ; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely dismiss him for the future ; heartily wishing he had a match exactly of his own size to meddle with, who should only have the odds of truth and honesty ; which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to silence him for ever. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear a short story of a fanatic farmer, who lived in my neighbourhood, and

* Swift has given an humorous specimen of such an *Answer* in No. XXII. of the *Examiner*.

was so great a disputant in religion, that the servants in all the families thereabouts reported how he had confuted the bishop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible : and I borrowed a comment for him, which he studied so close, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the farmer. They disputed at several houses, with a ring of servants and other people always about them ; where Ned explained his texts so full and 'clear to the capacity of his audience, and showed the insignificancy of his adversary's cant to the meanest understanding, that he got the whole country on his side, and the farmer was cured of his itch of disputation for ever after.

The worst of it is, that this sort of outrageous party-writers I have spoken of above, are like a couple of makebates, who inflame small quarrels by a thousand stories, and by keeping friends at a distance, hinder them from coming to a good understanding ; as they certainly would, if they were suffered to meet and debate between themselves : for let any one examine a reasonable honest man, of either side, upon those opinions in religion and government, which both parties daily buffet each other about, he shall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would be glad to ask a question about two great men * of the late ministry, How they came to be Whigs ? and by what figure of speech, half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called Tories ? I doubt, whoever would suit the defini-

* The Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, who commenced their political career as Tories, and only became Whigs through the necessity of identifying their own principles with that of the party which supported their power.

tion to the persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the time of the Revolution.

In order to remove these misapprehensions among us, I believe it will be necessary, upon occasion, to detect the malice and falsehood of some popular maxims, which those idiots scatter from the press twice a-week, and draw a hundred absurd consequences from them.

For example; I have heard it often objected, as a great piece of insolence in the clergy and others, to say or hint that the church was in danger, when it was voted otherwise in parliament some years ago; and the queen herself, in her last speech, did openly condemn all such insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still believe the church has, since that vote, been in very imminent danger; and I think I might then have said so, without the least offence to her majesty, or either of the two Houses. The queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from her administration; and whoever says or thinks that deserves, in my opinion, to be hanged for a traitor: but that the church and state may be both in danger, under the best princes that ever reigned, and without the least guilt of theirs, is such a truth, as a man must be a great stranger to history and common sense to doubt. The wisest prince on earth may be forced, by the necessity of his affairs, and the present power of an unruly faction; or deceived by the craft of ill-designing men. One or two ministers, most in his confidence, may at first have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their passions or interests, from one set of men than another, until they are too far involved for a retreat; and so be forced to take seven spirits more wick-

ed than themselves. This is a very possible case ; and will not the last state of such men be worse than the first ? that is to say, will not the public, which was safe at first, grow in danger by such proceedings as these ? And shall a faithful subject, who foresees and trembles at the consequences, be called disaffected, because he delivers his opinion, although the prince declares, as he justly may, that the danger is not owing to his administration ? or shall the prince himself be blamed, when, in such a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands, with the universal applause of his people ? As to the vote against those who should affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewise referred to danger from, or under the queen's administration ; for I neither have it by me, nor can suddenly have recourse to it ; but, if it were otherwise, I know not how it can refer to any dangers but what were past, or at that time present ; or how it could affect the future, unless the senators were all inspired, or at least that majority which voted it : neither do I see it is any crime, farther than ill manners, to differ in opinion from a majority of either, or both Houses ; and that ill manners, I must confess, I have been often guilty of for some years past, although I hope I never shall again.

Another topic of great use to these weekly inflamers is, the young Pretender in France, to whom their whole party is in a high measure indebted for all their greatness ; and whenever it lies in their power, they may, perhaps, return their acknowledgments, as, out of their zeal for frequent revolutions, they were ready to do to this supposed father ; which is a piece of secret history, that I hope will one day see the light ; and I am sure it shall, if ever I am master of it, without regarding whose

ears may tingle. * But at present, the word *Pretender* is a term of art in their profession. A secretary of state cannot desire leave to resign, but the Pretender is at bottom ; the queen cannot dissolve a parliament, but it is a plot to dethrone herself and bring in the Pretender ; half-a-score stock-jobbers are playing the knave in Exchange-alley, and there goes the Pretender with a sponge. One would be apt to think, they bawl out the Pretender so often, to take off the terror, or tell so many lies about him to slacken our caution, that when he is really coming, by their connivance, we may not believe them, as the boy served the shepherds about the coming of the wolf ; or, perhaps, they scare us with the Pretender, because they think he may be like some diseases that come with a fright. Do they not believe that the queen's present ministry love her majesty, at least as well as some loved the church ? And why is it not as great a mark of disaffection now, to say the queen is in danger, as it was some months ago to affirm the same of the church ? Suppose it be a false opinion, that the queen's right is hereditary and indefeasible ; yet how is it possible that those

* The Duke of Marlborough was more than once suspected of being engaged in schemes for a counter revolution. Sir John Dalrymple affirms, on the authority of Principal Gordon of the Scotch College, that the Earl of Oxford had obtained possession of a letter of the Duke of Marlborough, when Lord Churchill, addressed to James II., and giving him information of the projected attempt upon Brest in 1694 ; and that the duke, perceiving his life was in the hands of his enemy, consented to his voluntary exile to Brussels. He also relates, that the duke had a private meeting with Lord Oxford at Thomas Harley's, to which he came by a back door, and that, in consequence of what then passed, he immediately left England. But this piece of private history rests upon slight and traditional foundation.

who hold and believe such a doctrine can be in the Pretender's interest? His title is weakened by every argument that strengthens hers: it is as plain as the words of an act of parliament can make it, that her present majesty is heir to the survivor of the late king and queen, her sister: is not that an hereditary right? What need we explain it any farther? I have known an article of faith expounded in much looser and more general terms, and that by an author, whose opinions are very much followed by a certain party. Suppose we go farther, and examine the word *indefeasible*, with which some writers of late have made themselves so merry; I confess it is hard to conceive how any law, which the supreme power makes, may not by the same power be repealed; so that I shall not determine whether the queen's right be indefeasible or not. But this I will maintain, that whoever affirms it is so is not guilty of a crime; for in that settlement of the crown after the Revolution, where her present majesty is named in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) these remarkable words, "to which we bind ourselves and our posterity for ever." Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form, as they please; and reasoners may argue, that such an obligation is against the nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excused in thinking a right so confirmed is indefeasible; and if there be an absurdity in such an opinion, he is not to answer for it.

P. S. When this paper was going to the press, the printer brought me two more Observators, wholly taken up in my Examiner upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are just such an answer as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to say on that matter.

No. XVI.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1710.

*Qui sunt boni cives? Qui belli, qui domi de patriâ bene merentes,
nisi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt?*

Who is the good and laudable citizen? Who in peace, or who in war, has merited the favour of his country? Who but that person who, with gratitude, remembers and acknowledges the favours and rewards he has already received?

I WILL employ this present paper upon a subject, which of late has very much affected me, which I have considered with a good deal of application, and made several inquiries about among those persons, who, I thought, were best able to inform me; and if I deliver my sentiments with some freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that tenderness which so nice a point requires.

I said in a former paper, (No. 13,) that one specious objection to the late removals at court was, the fear of giving uneasiness to a general, who has been long successful abroad; and accordingly the common clamour of tongues and pens for some months past has run against the baseness, the inconstancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the Duke of Marlborough, in return of the most eminent services that ever were performed by a subject to his country; not to be equalled in history: and then, to be sure, some bitter stroke of detraction against Alexander and Cæsar, who never did us the

least injury. Besides, the people who read Plutarch come upon us with parallels drawn from the Greeks and Romans, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their most deserving generals; while the profounder politicians have seen pamphlets where Tacitus and Machiavel have been quoted, to show the danger of too resplendent a merit. If a stranger should hear these serious outcries of ingratitude against our general, without knowing the particulars, he would be apt to inquire, where was his tomb, or whether he was allowed Christian burial? not doubting but we had put him to some ignominious death. Or has he been tried for his life, and very narrowly escaped? has he been accused of high crimes and misdemeanours? has the prince seized on his estate, and left him to starve? has he been hooted at as he passed the streets by an ungrateful rabble? have neither honours, offices, nor grants, been conferred on him or his family? have not he and they been barbarously stripped of them all? have not he and his forces been ill paid abroad? and does not the prince, by a scanty limited commission, hinder him from pursuing his own methods in the conduct of the war? has he no power at all of disposing of commissions as he pleases? is he not severely used by the ministry or parliament, who yearly call him to a strict account? has the senate ever thanked him for good success, and have they not always publicly censured him for the least miscarriage?—Will the accusers of the nation join issue upon any of these particulars, or tell us in what point our damnable sin of ingratitude lies?—Why, it is plain and clear; for while he is commanding abroad, the queen dissolves her parliament, and changes her ministry at home; in which universal calamity, no less than two persons allied by marriage to the

general * have lost their places. Whence came this wonderful sympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in Flanders refuse to fight unless they can have their own lord-keeper, their own lord-president of the council, their own parliament? In a kingdom where the people are free, how came they to be so fond of having their counsels under the influence of their army, or those that lead it? who, in all well instituted states, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reserve.

When a general is not so popular, either in his army or at home, as one might expect from a long course of success; it may perhaps be ascribed to his wisdom, or perhaps to his complexion. The possession of some one quality, or defect in some other, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the soldiers. Besides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a queen, who engrosses all our love, and all our veneration; and where the only way, for a great general or minister, to acquire any degree of subordinate affection from the public, must be, by all marks of the most entire submission and respect, to her sacred person and commands; otherwise, no pretence of great services, either in the field or the cabinet, will be able to screen them from universal hatred. †

But the late ministry was closely joined to the general

* Sunderland and Godolphin.

† Swift, in the preceding Memoirs respecting the Change of Ministry, affirms, that the Duke of Marlborough lost the queen's favour by the arrogance with which he supported his wife's pretensions to be the queen's exclusive favourite.

by friendship, interest, alliance, inclination, and opinion ; which cannot be affirmed of the present : and the ingratitude of the nation lies in the people's joining, as one man, to wish that such a ministry should be changed. Is it not, at the same time, notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but a tender regard to the general was able to preserve that ministry so long, until neither God nor man could suffer their continuance ? Yet, in the highest ferment of things, we heard few or no reflections upon this great commander ; but all seemed unanimous in wishing he might still be at the head of the confederate forces ; only at the same time, in case he were resolved to resign, they chose rather to turn their thoughts somewhere else, than throw up all in despair. And this I cannot but add, in defence of the people, with regard to the person we are speaking of, that in the high station he has been for many years past, his real defects (as nothing human is without them) have, in a detracting age, been very sparingly mentioned either in libels or conversation, and all successes very freely and universally applauded.

There is an active and a passive ingratitude : applying both to this occasion, we may say, the first is, when a prince or people returns good services with cruelty or ill usage ; the other is, when good services are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already spoken of the former ; let us therefore in the second place examine how the services of our general have been rewarded ; and whether, upon that article, either prince or people have been guilty of ingratitude ?

Those are the most valuable rewards, which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor, that they fit our temper best : I shall therefore say nothing of the

title of Duke, or the Garter, which the queen bestowed upon the general in the beginning of her reign; but I shall come to more substantial instances, and mention nothing which has not been given in the face of the world. The lands of Woodstock may, I believe, be reckoned worth L. 40,000; on the building of Blenheim Castle L. 200,000 have been already expended, although it be not yet near finished; the grant of L. 5000 per annum on the post-office is richly worth L. 100,000; his principality in Germany may be computed at L. 30,000; pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, L. 60,000; the grant at the Pall-Mall, the rangiership, &c. for want of more certain knowledge, may be called L. 10,000; his own and his duchess's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed salaries, are very low rated at L. 100,000. Here is a good deal above half a million of money; and, I dare say, those who are loudest with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a trifle, in comparison of what is untold.

The reason of my stating this account is only to convince the world, that we are not quite so ungrateful either as the Greeks or the Romans; and in order to adjust the matter with all fairness, I shall confine myself to the latter, who were much more generous of the two. A victorious general of Rome, in the height of that empire, having entirely subdued his enemies, was rewarded with the larger triumph, and perhaps a statue in the Forum, a bull for a sacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inscriptions; sometimes five hundred or a thousand copper coins were struck on occasion of the victory, which, doing honour to the general, we will place to his account; and lastly, sometimes, although not very frequently, a

triumphal arch. These are all the rewards that I can call to mind, which a victorious general received, after his return from the most glorious expedition; having conquered some great kingdom, brought the king himself, his family, and nobles, to adorn the triumph, in chains; and made the kingdom, either a Roman province, or, at best, a poor depending state, in humble alliance to that empire. Now, of all these rewards, I find but two which were of real profit to the general; the laurel crown, made and sent him at the charge of the public, and the embroidered garment; but I cannot find whether this last was paid for by the senate or the general: however, we will take the more favourable opinion; and in all the rest admit the whole expence, as if it were ready money in the general's pocket. Now, according to these computations on both sides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of Roman gratitude, and the other of British ingratitude, and set them together in balance.

A BILL OF ROMAN GRATITUDE.

Imprim.	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For frankincense, and earthen pots to burn it in	4	10	0
A bull for sacrifice	-	8	0 0
An embroidered garment	-	50	0 0
A crown of laurel	-	0	0 2
A statue	-	100	0 0
A trophy	-	80	0 0
A thousand copper medals, value half pence			
a-piece	-	2	1 8
A triumphal arch	-	500	0 0
A triumphal car, valued as a modern coach	100	0	0
Casual charges at the triumph	-	150	0 0

L. 994 11 10

A BILL OF BRITISH INGRATITUDE.

Imprim.				
Woodstock	-	-	-	L. 40,000
Blenheim	-	-	-	200,000
Post-office grant	-	-	-	100,000
Mildenheim	-	-	-	30,000
Pictures, jewels, &c.	-	-	-	60,000
Pall-Mall grant, &c.	-	-	-	10,000
Employments	-	-	-	100,000
				<hr/>
				L. 540,000
				<hr/>

This is an account of the visible profits on both sides ;*

* The paper called the MEDLEY, No. 19, contrasted this account-current with the following statement of debit and credit between Marlborough and his country :—

Debtor to Great Britain.
 By grants.
 Employments.
 Pictures bought or given by foreigners.
 Jewels the same.
 Mildenheim by the Emperor.

Creditor on the other side.
 [Which part of the account our Examiner forgot.]
 By the battles of Schellenberg and Blenheim.
 Forcing the French lines twice.
 Ramilies, Oudenarde, Mons, &c.
 And by twenty-seven towns taken, which being reckoned at L. 300,000 a town, (the price that Dunkirk was sold at before it was fortified,) amounts in all, throwing in the battles and the fortifications,
 To - L. 8,100,000.

Amounting in all to L. 540,000.

Balance on the credit side, L. 7,560,000.

and if the Roman general had any private perquisites, they may be easily discounted, and by more probable computations; and differ yet more upon the balance, if we consider that all the gold and silver for safeguards and contributions, also all valuable prizes taken in the war, were openly exposed in the triumph, and then lodged in the Capitol for the public service.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite so bad at worst as the Romans were at best. And I doubt, those who raise the hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily mistaken in the consequence they propose from such complaints. I remember a saying of Seneca, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus*; we find many ungrateful persons in the world, but we make more, by setting too high a rate upon our pretensions, and undervaluing the rewards we receive. When unreasonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed or cut off in the middle. Where there have been long accounts between two persons, I have known one of them perpetually making large demands, and pressing for payment; who, when the accounts were cast up on both sides, was found to be debtor for some hundreds. I am thinking, if a proclamation were issued out for every man to send in his bill of merits, and the lowest price he set them at, what a pretty sum it would amount to, and how many such islands as this must be sold to pay them. I form my judgment from the practice of those who sometimes happen to pay themselves, and, I dare affirm, would not be so unjust as to take a farthing more than they think is due to their deserts. I will instance only in one article: A lady of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-six pounds a-year out of her allowance, for certain uses, which her woman received, and was to pay

to the lady, or her order, as it was called for.* But, after eight years, it appeared, upon the strictest calculation, that the woman had paid but four pounds a-year,

* This alludes to an anecdote, which, as told by the Duchess of Marlborough herself, does her more discredit than she seems to be aware of. "These," she says, after a pretty handsome enumeration of royal favours, "were the only grants I ever had from the queen, except one, which occasioned the witty comparison that was made between me and the lady's-woman, who, out of her mistress's pin-money of L. 26, put twenty-two into her own pocket. The matter was this: At the queen's accession to the government, she used to lament to me, that, the crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the privy purse L. 2000 a-year, in order to purchase for my advantage. I made my grateful acknowledgments to her majesty, but at the same time said, that, as her majesty was so good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted, I could not think it reasonable to accept her offer, and I absolutely refused it. I constantly declined it till the time that, notwithstanding the uncommon regard I had shown to her majesty's interest and honour, in the execution of my trusts, she was pleased to dismiss me from her service; then, indeed, it was thought I had no longer the same reason to be scrupulous on this head. By the advice of my friends, I sent the queen one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the L. 2000 a-year; and I wrote at the same time to ask her majesty, whether she would allow me to charge in the privy purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum from the time of the offer, amounting to L. 18,000. Her majesty was pleased to answer, I might charge it. This, therefore, I did."—*Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough.*

It were to be wished that the duchess had favoured us with a statement of the reasons which convinced her, that, having absolutely refused to receive this annuity as a gratuity from her sovereign while in favour, in consideration of L. 5000, given in portion to each of her daughters, and the lucrative offices vested in her own person, she was nevertheless entitled to levy the same annuity, with all its arrears, by way of fine, when dismissed from the queen's

and sunk two-and-twenty for her own pocket. It is but supposing, instead of twenty-six pounds, twenty-six thousand ; and by that you may judge what the pretensions of modern merit are, where it happens to be its own paymaster.

No. XVII.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset ; eas omnes sese, hoc uno præloze per triennium, pertulisse aiebant.

These things were the effect of his scandalous and unbounded luxury, his insatiable avarice, his contumelious insolence. These were the sufferings of that unhappy nation, for three years, under his oppressive government.

WHEN I first undertook this paper, I was resolved to concern myself only with things, and not with persons. Whether I have kept or broken this resolution, I cannot

service. As it is, we must be contented with the reason announced in a parallel case by Dr Ratcliffe, who, during a long attendance in the family of a particular friend, regularly refused the fee pressed upon him at each visit. At length, when the cure was performed, and the doctor about to give up attendance, the convalescent patient again proffered him a purse containing the fees for every day's visit. The doctor eyed it some time in silence, and at length extended his hand, exclaiming, " Singly I could have refused them for ever ; but altogether, they are irresistible."

recollect ; and I will not be at the pains to examine, but leave the matter to those little antagonists who may want a topic for criticism. Thus much I have discovered, that it is in writing as in building ; where, after all our schemes and calculations, we are mightily deceived in our accounts, and often forced to make use of any materials we can find, that the work may be kept a going. Besides, to speak my opinion, the things I have occasion to mention are so closely linked to persons, that nothing but time (the father of oblivion) can separate them. Let me put a parallel case : Suppose I should complain, that last week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a smooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horses ; to be sure, all my friends would immediately lay the fault upon John, * because they knew he then presided in my coach-box. Again, suppose I should discover some uneasiness to find myself, I knew not how, over head and ears in debt, although I were sure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never spent half my income ; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr Oldfox, † my receiver, and take another. If, as a justice of peace, I should tell a friend, that my warrants and mittimuses were never drawn up as I would have them ; that I had the misfortune to send an honest man to gaol, and dismiss a knave ; he would bid me no longer trust Charles and Harry, ‡ my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, assuming, and ill-inclined fellows. If I should add, that my tenants made me very uneasy with

* John Duke of Marlborough.

† Lord Godolphin, lord-treasurer.

‡ Earl of Sunderland, and Henry Boyle, Esq. secretaries of state.

their squabbles and broils among themselves, he would counsel me to cashier Will. Bigamy,* the seneschal of my manor. And lastly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a misunderstanding about the delivery of a message, what could I do less than strip and discard the blundering or malicious rascal who carried it? †

It is the same thing in the conduct of public affairs, where they have been managed with rashness or wilfulness, corruption, ignorance, or injustice. Barely to relate the facts, at least while they are fresh in memory, will as much reflect upon the persons concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore since thought of another expedient, frequently practised with great safety and success by satirical writers; which is, that of looking into history for some character bearing a resemblance to the person we

* In the youth of William Earl Cowper, (lord high chancellor under Godolphin's administration,) he is said to have contracted an informal marriage with Mrs Elizabeth Culling, of Hertingfordbury Park, by whom he had a son and daughter. The former died soon after he came of age, and the latter sold Hertingfordbury Park to Judge Cowper, who conveyed it to the chancellor; so it is now a seat of the family. Notwithstanding Swift's malicious insinuation, Cowper's connection with this lady was not such as to prevent him marrying, *first*, Judith, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Booth of London; and after her death, Mary, daughter of John Clavering of Chopwell, in the bishopric of Durham. See his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, edit. 1789, and COLLINS'S *Peerage*.

† Horatio Walpole, secretary to the English Embassy at the treaty of Gertruydenberg. Swift, in the *Conduct of the Allies*, accuses him of misleading the nation, by falsely stating, that the French had willingly acceded to the preliminary articles, and would even have made farther concessions, when he must have known the contrary.

would describe ; and, with the absolute power of altering, adding, or suppressing what circumstances we please, I conceive we must have very bad luck, or very little skill, to fail. However, some days ago in a coffee-house, looking into one of the politic weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this scheme ; and I happened to light on that part where he was describing a person, who, from small beginnings, grew (as I remember) to be constable of France, and had a very haughty imperious wife. * I took the author as a friend to our faction ; for so, with great propriety of speech, they call the queen and ministry, almost the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom ; and I said to a gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what persons the author meant, yet there were several particulars in the husband's character which I could not reconcile ; for that of the lady, it was just and adequate enough. But it seems I mistook the whole matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of persons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now, to avoid such a misfortune as this, I have been for some time consulting Livy and Tacitus, to find out a character of a princeps senatus, a prætor urbanus, a quæstor ærarius, a Cæsari ab epistolis, and a proconsul : but among the worst of them, I cannot discover one from whom to draw a parallel without doing injury to a Roman memory : so that I am compelled to have recourse

* In the MEDLEY, No. 6 and No. 7, is an account of the rise and fall of the Marquis D'Ancre, and his wife Galigai, so told as to shadow forth Harley and Mrs Masham, Queen Anne's minister and favourite. Swift insinuates, with justice, that the character of Galigai would better have suited the Duchess of Marlborough.

to Tully. But this author relating facts only as an orator, I thought it would be best to observe his method, and make an extract from six harangues of his against Verres, only still preserving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceased about two months ago, presented the world with a speech of Alcibiades against an Athenian brewer.* Now I am told for certain, that in those days there was no ale in

* While the Westminster election was contested by General Stanhope, and Mr Cross, a brewer, Addison, in the third number of the Whig Examiner, introduced a pretended extract from a Greek manuscript, containing the oration of Alcibiades against Taureas, an Athenian brewer, supposed to have disputed with him for a certain prize to be conferred by the voice of the people. The speech has much Addisonian humour, and a happy mimicry of the ancient style of declamation. "But, O ye men of Athens, what has this man done to deserve your voices? You say he is honest; I believe it, and, therefore, he shall brew for me. You say he is assiduous in his calling; and is he not grown rich by it? Let him have your custom, but not your votes. You are now to cast your eyes upon those who can detect the artifices of the common enemy; that cannot disappoint your secret foes in council, and your open enemies in the field. Let it not avail my competitor, that he has been tapping his liquors while I have been spilling my blood; that he has been gathering hops for you, while I have been reaping laurels. Have I not borne the dust and heat of the day, while he has been sweating at his furnace? Behold these scars; behold this wound which still bleeds in your service. What can Taureas show you of this nature? What are his marks of honour? Has he any other wound about him except the accidental scaldings of his wort, or bruises from the tub or barrel? Let it not, O Athenians, let it not be said, that your generals have conquered themselves into your displeasure, and lost your favour by gaining you victories." This short specimen will enable the reader to compare the light and comic style of Addison's parody, with the fierce, stern, and vindictive tone of Swift's philippic against the Earl of Whar-ton, under the name of *Verres*.

Athens ; therefore that speech, or at least a great part of it, must needs be spurious. The difference between my brother and me is this ; he makes Alcibiades say a great deal more than he really did, and I make Cicero say a great deal less. This Verres had been the Roman governor of Sicily for three years ; and, on his return from his government, the Sicilians entreated Cicero to impeach him in the senate ; which he accordingly did in several orations, whence I have faithfully translated and abstracted that which follows :

“ MY LORDS,

“ A pernicious opinion has for some time prevailed, not only at Rome, but among our neighbouring nations, that a man who has money enough, although he be ever so guilty, cannot be condemned in this place. But however industriously this opinion be spread to cast an odium on the senate, we have brought before your lordships Caius Verres, a person, for his life and actions, already condemned by all men. But, as he hopes and gives out, by the influence of his wealth, to be here absolved, in condemning this man, you have an opportunity of belying that general scandal, of redeeming the credit lost by former judgments, and recovering the love of the Roman people, as well as of our neighbours. I have brought here a man before you, my lords, who is a robber of the public treasure, an overturner of law and justice, and the disgrace, as well as destruction of the Sicilian province ; of whom, if you shall determine with equity and due severity, your authority will remain entire, and upon such an establishment as it ought to be : but if his great riches will be able to force their way through that religious reverence and truth, which become so awful an assembly,

I shall, however, obtain this much, that the defect will be laid where it ought ; and that it shall not be objected that the criminal was not produced, or that there wanted an orator to accuse him. This man, my lords, has publicly said, that those ought to be afraid of accusations who have only robbed enough for their own support and maintenance ; but that he has plundered sufficient to bribe numbers ; and that nothing is so high or so holy which money cannot corrupt. Take that support from him, and he can have no other left : for what eloquence will be able to defend a man whose life has been tainted with so many scandalous vices, and who has been so long condemned by the universal opinion of the world ? To pass over the foul stains and ignominy of his youth, his corrupt management in all employments he has borne, his treachery and irreligion, his injustice and oppression : he has left of late such monuments of his villainies in Sicily, made such havoc and confusion there during his government, that the province cannot by any means be restored to its former state, and hardly recover itself at all, under many years, and by a long succession of good governors. While this man governed in that island, the Sicilians had neither the benefit of our laws, nor their own, nor even of common right. In Sicily, no man now possesses more than what the governor's lust and avarice have overlooked, or what he was forced to neglect, out of mere weariness and satiety of oppression. Every thing, where he presided, was determined by his arbitrary will ; and the best subjects he treated as enemies. To recount his abominable debaucheries would offend any modest ear, since so many could not preserve their daughters and wives from his lust. I believe there is no man, who ever heard his name, that cannot relate

his enormities. We bring before you in judgment, my lords, a public robber, an adulterer, a DEFILER OF ALTARS,* an enemy of religion, and of all that is sacred. In Sicily he sold all employments of judicature, magistracy, and trust, places in the council, and the priesthood itself, to the highest bidder; and has plundered that island of forty millions of sesterces. And here I cannot but observe to your lordships, in what manner Verres passed the day; the morning was spent in taking bribes and selling employments; the rest of it in drunkenness and lust. His discourse at table was scandalously unbecoming the dignity of his station; noise, brutality, and obscenity. One particular I cannot omit; that in the high character of governor of Sicily, upon a solemn day, a day set apart for public prayer for the safety of the commonwealth, he stole at evening in a chair to a married woman of infamous character, † against all decency and prudence, as well as against all laws, both human and divine. Didst thou think, O Verres! the government of Sicily was given thee with so large a commission, only, by the power of that, to break all the bars of law, modesty, and duty; to suppose all men's fortunes thine, and leave no house free from thy rapine and lust?" &c.

This extract, to deal ingeniously, has cost me more pains than I think it is worth, having only served to convince me, that modern corruptions are not to be paralleled by ancient examples, without having recourse to poetry or fable. For instance, I never read in story

* See No. XXII. for a story of Lord Wharton's having been guilty of polluting a church.

† Probably a Mrs Coningsby, mentioned in the short character of the Earl of Wharton.

of a law enacted to take away the force of all laws whatsoever ; by which a man may safely commit upon the last of June, what he would infallibly be hanged for, if he committed it on the first of July ; by which the greatest criminals may escape, provided they continue long enough in power to antiquate their crimes, and by stifling them a while, can deceive the legislature into an amnesty, of which the enactors do not at that time foresee the consequence.* A cautious merchant will be apt to suspect, when he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning dealer, and with whom he has old accounts, urging for a general release. When I reflect on this proceeding, I am not surprised, that those who contrived a parliamentary sponge for their crimes, are now afraid of a new revolution sponge for their money : and if it were possible to contrive a sponge that could only affect those who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.

* Swift seems to foresee what actually took place. For in 1713, there was an attempt to fix a misdemeanour on the Earl of Wharton, as having taken a bribe of L. 1000 from one Hutchinson, for procuring him the office of register of seizures in the customs. But he was found sheltered by the act of indemnity.

No. XVIII.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1710.

*Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas ; tot bella per orbem ;
Tam multæ scelerum facies —*

Where sacred order, fraud and force confound ;
Where impious wars and tumults rage around.

I AM often violently tempted to let the world freely know who the author of this paper is ; to tell them my name and titles at length ; which would prevent abundance of inconsistent criticisms I daily hear upon it. Those who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance are sometimes apt to quarrel with the Examiner, as defective in point of wit, and sometimes of truth. At other times, they are so generous and candid to allow it is written by a club, and that very great hands have fingers in it. As for those who only appear its adversaries in print, they give me but very little pain. The paper I hold lies at my mercy, and I can govern it as I please ; therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too deep, and the satire too keen for me to deal with, (a very frequent case, no doubt, where a man is constantly attacked by such shrewd adversaries,) I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aside, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the same power over people's tongues, and not be forced to hear my own work railed and commended fifty times a-day ; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining, out of policy or good manners, with

the judgment of both parties : this, I confess, is too great a hardship for so bashful and unexperienced a writer.

But, alas ! I lie under another discouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice of my party, when I set up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to discover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cause which the queen and both houses of parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have so unanimously embraced? I am cruelly afraid we politic authors must begin to lessen our expences, and lie for the future at the mercy of our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourselves into places or pensions. A certain starveling author, who worked under the late administration, told me, with a heavy heart, about a month ago, that he, and some others of his brethren, had secretly offered their service, dog-cheap, to the present ministry, but were all refused ; and are now maintained by contribution like Jacobites or fanatics. I have been of late employed, out of perfect commiseration, in doing them good offices : for, whereas, some were of opinion, that these hungry zealots should not be suffered any longer, in their malapert way, to snarl at the present course of public proceedings ; and, whereas, others proposed, that they should be limited to a certain number, and permitted to write for their masters, in the same manner as counsel are assigned for other criminals, that is, to say all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court ; I humbly gave my advice, that they should be suffered to write on, as they used to do ; which I did purely out of regard to their persons ; for I hoped it would keep them out of harm's way, and pre-

vent them from falling into evil courses ; which, though of little consequence to the public, would certainly be fatal to themselves. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will transcribe a petition to the present ministry, sent me by one of these authors, in behalf of himself and fourscore others of his brethren.

For my own part, notwithstanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I shall continue my paper, till either the world or myself grow weary of it : the latter is easily determined ; and for the former, I shall not leave it to the partiality of either party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I designed by it was to undeceive those well-meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong sense of things, either by the common prejudices of education and company, the great personal qualities of some party leaders, or the foul misrepresentations that were constantly made of all who durst differ from them in the smallest article. I have known such men struck with the thoughts of some late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made, without any reason, visible to the world. In answer to this, it is not sufficient to allege, what nobody doubts, that a good and wise prince may be allowed to change his ministers, without giving a reason to his subjects ; because it is probable, that he will not make such a change, without very important reasons ; and a good subject ought to suppose, that, in such a case, there are such reasons, although he be not apprised of them ; otherwise he must inwardly tax his prince of capriciousness, inconstancy, or ill-design. Such reasons, indeed, may not be obvious to persons prejudiced, or at a great distance, or short thinkers ; and, therefore, if there be

no secrets of state, nor any ill consequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand, to lay them open for the satisfaction of all men. And if what I have already said, or shall hereafter say, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon persons, although none have been named, I know not how it can possibly be avoided. The queen, in her speech, mentions, with great concern, that “the navy and other offices are burdened with heavy debts; and desires that the like may be prevented for the time to come.” And if it be now possible to prevent the continuance of an evil that has been so long growing upon us, and is arrived to such a height, surely those corruptions and mismanagements must have been great which first introduced them, before our taxes were eaten up by annuities.

If I were able to rip up, and discover, in all their colours, only about eight or nine thousand of the most scandalous abuses that have been committed in all parts of public management for twenty years past, by a certain set of men and their instruments, I should reckon it some service to my country and posterity. But, to say the truth, I should be glad the authors’ names were conveyed to future times, along with their actions. For although the present age may understand well enough the little hints we give, the parallels we draw, and the characters we describe, yet all this will be lost to the next. However, if these papers, reduced into a more durable form, should happen to live till our grandchildren be men, I hope they may have curiosity enough to consult annals, and compare dates, in order to find out what names were then intrusted with the conduct of affairs, in the consequences whereof themselves will so deeply

share ; like a heavy debt in a private family, which often lies an incumbrance upon an estate for three generations.

But, leaving the care of informing posterity to better pens, I shall, with due regard to truth, discretion, and the safety of my person from the men of the new-fangled moderation, continue to take all proper opportunities of letting the misled part of the people see how grossly they have been abused, and in what particulars. I shall also endeavour to convince them, that the present course we are in is the most probable means, with the blessing of God, to extricate ourselves out of all our difficulties.

Among those who are pleased to write or talk against this paper, I have observed a strange manner of reasoning, which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves upon. They make no ceremony of exclaiming, upon all occasions, against a change of ministry, in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture. What shall we, who heartily approve and join in those proceedings, say in defence of them ? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they describe : we are pushed for an answer ; and are forced at last freely to confess, that the corruptions and abuses in every branch of the administration were so numerous and intolerable, that all things must have ended in ruin, without some speedy reformation. This I have already asserted in a former paper ; and the replies I have read or heard have been in plain terms to affirm the direct contrary ; and not only to defend and celebrate the late persons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance, for casting reflections on so many great and honourable men, whose birth, virtue, and abilities, whose morals and religion,

whose love of their country, and its constitution in church and state, were so universally allowed ; and all this set off with odious comparisons, reflecting on the present choice : is not this, in plain and direct terms, to tell all the world, that the queen has, in a most dangerous crisis, turned out a whole set of the best ministers that ever served a prince, without any manner of reason but her royal pleasure, and brought in others, of a character directly contrary ? And how so vile an opinion as this can consist with the least pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine.

I confess myself so little a refiner in politics, as not to be able to discover what other motive, beside obedience to the queen, a sense of public danger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could spirit up those great men, who have now, under her majesty's authority, undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect, but the utmost efforts of malice, from a set of enraged domestic adversaries, perpetually watching over their conduct, crossing all their designs, and using every art to foment divisions among them, in order to join with the weakest, upon any rupture ? The difficulties they must encounter are nine times more and greater than ever ; and the prospects of the interest, after the reappings and gleanings of so many years, nine times less. Every misfortune at home or abroad, although the necessary consequence of former counsels, will be imputed to them ; and all the good success given to the merit of former schemes. A sharper has held your cards all the evening, played booty, and lost your money ; and when things are almost desperate, you employ an honest gentleman to retrieve your losses.

I would ask, whether the queen's speech does not contain her intentions, in every particular, relating to the public, that a good subject, a Briton, and a Protestant, can possibly have at heart? "To carry on the war in all its parts, particularly in Spain, * with the utmost vigour, in order to procure a safe and honourable peace for us and our allies; to find some ways of paying the debts of the navy; to support and encourage the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the Union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as are for the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover." It is known enough, that speeches on these occasions are ever digested by the advice of those who are in the chief confidence; and, consequently, that these are the sentiments of her majesty's ministers, as well as her own; and we see the two Houses have unanimously agreed with her in every article. When the least counterpoises † are made to any of these resolutions, it will then be time enough for our malecontents to bawl out Popery, persecution, arbitrary power, and the Pretender. In the mean while, it is a little hard to think, that this island can hold but six men, of honesty and ability enough to serve their prince and country: or that our safety should depend upon their credit any more than it would upon the breath in their nostrils. Why should not a revolution in the ministry be sometimes necessary, as well as a revolution in

* It was a general complaint, that the war in Spain had been neglected, in order to supply that army which was more immediately under the management of Marlborough.

† *i. e.* Counterpoises.

the crown? It is to be presumed, the former is at least as lawful in itself, and perhaps the experiment not quite so dangerous. The revolution of the sun about the earth was formerly thought a necessary expedient to solve appearances, although it left many difficulties unanswered; until philosophers contrived a better, which is that of the earth's revolution about the sun. This is found, upon experience, to save much time and labour, to correct many irregular motions, and is better suited to the respect due from a planet to a fixed star.

No. XIX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1710.

*Sunt quibus in satira videar nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus: sine nervis altera quicquid
Composui pars esse putat—*

There are to whom too poignant I appear,
Beyond the laws of satire too severe.
My lines are weak, unsinewed, others say,
A man may spin a thousand such a-day.

WHEN the printer came last week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of those papers, which, in the phrase of Whig coffee-houses, have swung off the Examiner, most of which I had never seen or heard of before. I remember some time ago, in one of the Tatlers, to have read a letter, wherein several reasons are assigned for the present corruption and degeneracy

of our taste ; but I think the writer has omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuse either side of this infirmity : I have heard the arrantest drivellers, *pro* and *con*, commended for their shrewdness, even by men of tolerable judgment ; and the best performances exploded as nonsense and stupidity. This, indeed, may partly be imputed to policy and prudence ; but it is chiefly owing to that blindness, which prejudice and passion cast over the understanding. I mention this, because I think it properly within my province in quality of Examiner. And having granted more than is usual for an enemy to do, I must now take leave to say, that so weak a cause, and so ruined a faction, were never provided with pens more resembling their condition, or less suited to their occasions.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget* ———

This is the more to be wondered at, when we consider, they have the full liberty of the press ; that they have no other way left to recover themselves ; and that they want not men of excellent parts to set their arguments in the best light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both sides with fairness, good sense, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the most effectual means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that men of great genius are hardly brought to prostitute their pens in a very odious cause ; which, besides, is more properly undertaken by noise and impudence, by gross railing and scurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little

trifling cavils and carpings in the wrong place, which those whiffers use for arguments and answers.

I was well enough pleased with the story of one of these answerers, who, in a paper last week, found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it seems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was resolved to begin his answer with a Latin verse, as well as other folks. His business was to look out for something against the Examiner, that would pretend to tax accounts; and, turning over Virgil, he had the luck to find these words,

——— *fugiant examina taxos:*

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky prompters had not hindered it.*

I here declare, once for all, that if these people will

* This answerer may have been honest Daniel De Foe; at least it is certain he was very impatient under the charge of want of literature. "I know another," says he, pointing obviously at Swift, "that is an orator in the Latin, a walking index of books, has all the libraries in Europe in his head, from the Vatican at Rome to the learned collection of Dr Salmen at Fleet-ditch; but, at the same time, he is a cynic in behaviour, a fury in temper, unpolite in conversation, abusive and scurrilous in language, and ungovernable in passion. Is this to be learned? Then may I be still *illiterate*. I have been in my time pretty well master of five languages, and have not lost them yet, though I write no bill over my door, or set *Latin quotations* in the front of my Review. But, to my irreparable loss, I was bred but by halves; for my father, forgetting Juno's royal academy, left the language of Billingsgate quite out of my education: hence I am perfectly *illiterate* in the polite style of the street, and am not fit to converse with the porters and carmen of quality, who grace their diction with the beauties of calling names, and curse their neighbour with a *bonne grace*."—*Review of the State of the British Nation*, No. 114.

not be quiet, I shall take the bread out of their mouths, and answer the Examiner myself, which I protest I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have those answers been written or published with my privity, as malicious people are pleased to give out; nor do I believe the common Whiggish report, that the authors are hired by the ministry, to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneasiness with their impatience, than its enemies by their answers. I heard myself censured last week, by some of the former, for promising to discover the corruptions of the late administration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other side, are thundering out their anathemas against me, for discovering so many. I am at a loss how to decide between these contraries, and shall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done; my design being of more importance than that of writing only to gratify the spleen of one side, or provoke that of the other, although it may occasionally have both effects.

I shall therefore go on to relate some facts, that, in my humble opinion, were no hindrance to the change of the ministry.

The first I shall mention was that of introducing certain new phrases into the court style, which had been very seldom, or never, made use of in former times. They usually ran in the following terms: "Madam, I cannot serve you while such a one is in employment. I desire, humbly, to resign my commission, if Mr—— continues secretary of state. I cannot answer that the city will lend money, unless my l—d —— be president of the council. I must beg leave to surrender, except

— has the staff. I must not accept the seals, unless — comes into the other office.”* This has been the language of late years from subjects to their prince. Thus they stood upon terms, and must have their conditions to ruin the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had spread so far, that every understrapper began at length to perk up and assume; he expected a regiment; or his son must be a major; or his brother a collector; else he threatened to vote according to his conscience.

Another of their glorious attempts was the clause intended in the bill for the encouragement of learning, by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges, in both universities, to enter upon holy orders: the design of which, as I have heard the undertakers often confess, was to remove the care of educating youths out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuse into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther secret in this clause, which may best be discovered by the first projectors, or at least the garblers of it; and these are known to be Collins and Tindall, in conjunction with a most pious lawyer, their disciple.

What shall we say to their prodigious skill in arithmetic, discovered so constantly in their decision of elections; where they were able to make out by the rule of false, that three were more than three-and-twenty, and

* The dismissal of Harley from the post of secretary, in 1707-8, was wrested from the queen, greatly contrary to her wishes, by Marlborough and Godolphin, who threatened to retire, unless their demand was complied with. And the same threat was used with the same success, to prevent the queen from bestowing a regiment on Hill, the brother of her favourite, Mrs Masham.

fifteen than fifty? Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them dispute, that in determining elections they were not to consider where the right lay, but which of the candidates was likelier to be true to the cause. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent similitude, of gaming with a sharper;—if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

Another cast of their politics was, that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent lady,* for no reason imaginable, but her faithful and diligent service to the queen, and the favour her majesty bore to her upon that account, when others had acted contrary in so shameful a manner. What else was the crime? Had she treated her royal mistress with insolence or neglect? Had she enriched herself by a long practice of bribery, and obtained exorbitant grants? Had she engrossed her majesty's favours, without admitting any access but through her means? Had she heaped employments upon herself, her family, and dependants? Had she an imperious haughty behaviour? Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder, and mistake of one person for another?† I have heard of a man, who lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning, wondering what it could possibly be that made him rest so ill, happening to see a feather under him, imputed the uneasiness of his lodging to that. I remember likewise the story of a giant in Rabelais, who used to feed upon wind-mills; but was unfortunately choked with a small lump of fresh butter, before a warm oven.

And here I cannot but observe, how very refined some

* Mrs, afterwards Lady Masham.

† The Examiner alludes to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who, during her long reign, was far from bearing her faculties meekly.

people are in their generosity and gratitude. There is a certain great person, * (I shall not say of what sex,) who for many years past was the constant mark and butt, against which our present malecontents used to discharge their resentment; upon whom they bestowed all the terms of scurrility, that malice, envy, and indignation, could invent; whom they publicly accused of every vice that can possess a human heart; pride, covetousness, ingratitude, oppression, treachery, dissimulation, violence, and fury, all in the highest extremes: but of late they have changed their language on a sudden; that person is now the most faithful and just that ever served a prince; that person, originally differing from them in principles as far as east from west, but united in practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty resemblances between each other, which they could never discover before. *Tanti est, ut placeam tibi perire!*

But to return: How could it be longer suffered in a free nation, that all avenues to preferment should be shut up, except a very few; when one or two stood constant sentry, who docked all favours they handed down, or spread a huge invisible net between the prince and subject, through which nothing of value could pass? And here I cannot but admire at one consequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally speaking, princes, who have ill ministers, are apt to suffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people; but it was not so with the queen. When

* The Earl of Nottingham, who became a convert to opposition, probably because he did not find himself distinguished in the new administration, as his zeal for high church principles had, in his opinion, merited.

the sun is overcast by those clouds he exhales from the earth, we still acknowledge his light and influence, and at last find he can dispel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wisest prince, by the necessity of affairs, the misrepresentations of designing men, or the innocent mistakes even of a good predecessor, may find himself encompassed by a crew of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and success, have miserably corrupted: and if he can save himself and his people from ruin, under the worst administration, what may not his subjects hope for, when, with their universal applause, he changes hands, and makes use of the best?

Another great objection with me against the late party was the cruel tyranny they put upon conscience, by a barbarous inquisition, refusing to admit the least toleration or indulgence. They imposed a hundred tests; but could never be prevailed on to dispense with or take off the smallest, or even to admit of occasional conformity; but went on daily (as their apostle Tindall expresses it) narrowing their terms of communion, pronouncing nine parts in ten of the kingdom heretics, and shutting them out of the pale of their church. These very men, who talk so much of a comprehension in religion among us, how came they to allow so little of it in politics, which is their sole religion? You shall hear them pretending to bewail the animosities kept up between the church of England and dissenters, where the differences in opinion are so few and inconsiderable; yet, these very sons of moderation were pleased to excommunicate every man who disagreed with them in the smallest article of their political creed, or who refused to receive any new article, how difficult soever to digest, which the leaders imposed at pleasure to serve their own interest.

I will quit this subject for the present, when I have told one story: "There was a great king in Scythia, whose dominions were bounded on the north by the poor mountainous territories of a petty lord, who paid homage, as the king's vassal. The Scythian prime minister, being largely bribed, indirectly obtained his master's consent to suffer this lord to build forts, and provide himself with arms, under pretence of preventing the inroads of the Tartars. This little depending sovereign, finding he was now in a condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon terms, and threatened upon every occasion to unite with the Tartars: upon which the prime minister, who began to be in pain about his head, proposed a match betwixt his master and the only daughter of this tributary lord, which he had the good luck to bring to pass; and from that time valued himself as author of a most glorious union, which indeed was grown of absolute necessity by his corruption." This passage, cited literally from an old history of Sarmatia, I thought fit to set down, on purpose to perplex little smattering remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for an application. *

* The author of the MEDLEY, one of those "smattering remarkers," did not fail to translate this piece of Sarmatian history into plain English. It contains that account of the Union, which Swift says was sanctioned by Lord Somers' avowal, and which afterwards, when published in the "Public Spirit of the Whigs," gave such bitter offence to the Scottish peers, that they waited upon Queen Anne in a body to state their complaint against the author. "England being bounded on the north by a poor mountainous people, called Scots, who were vassals to that crown; and the English prime minister, being largely bribed, obtained the q——'s consent for the Scots to arm and exercise themselves; and they,

No. XX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1710.

— *pugnacem scirent sapiente minorem.*

Arms to the gown the victory must yield.

I AM very much at a loss how to proceed upon the subject intended in this paper, which a new incident has led me to engage in. The subject I mean is that of soldiers and the army; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I shall handle it in as cautious a manner as I am able.

It is certain, that the art of war has suffered great changes almost in every age and country of the world; however, there are some maxims relating to it that will be eternal truths, and which every reasonable man must allow.

In the early times of Greece and Rome, the armies of those states were composed of their citizens, who took no pay, because the quarrel was their own; and therefore the war was usually decided in one campaign; or, if

finding they were now in a condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon terms, and threatened, upon every occasion, to join with the French. Upon which the prime minister, who began to be in pain about his head, set on foot a treaty to unite the two kingdoms, which he had the good luck to bring to pass, and from that time valued himself as author of a most glorious union, which, indeed, was grown of absolute necessity, by his corruption."—*Medley*, No. 14.

it lasted longer, yet in winter the soldiers returned to their several callings, and were not distinguished from the rest of the people. The Gothic governments in Europe, although they were of military institution, yet observed almost the same method. I shall instance only here in England: those, who held lands *in capite* of the king, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of men, who all held lands from them, at easy rents, on that condition. These fought without pay; and when the service was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of William Rufus, that being absent in Normandy, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thousand men to be raised, and sent over hence to supply his army; but, having struck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to disband, upon condition they would pay him ten shillings a man, which amounted to a mighty sum in those days.

Consider a kingdom as a great family, whereof the prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only servants armed, either to awe the children at home, or else to defend from invaders the family who are otherwise employed, and choose to contribute out of their stock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their absence. The art of making soldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, seems in Europe to have had two originals: the first was usurpation; when popular men destroyed the liberties of their country, and seized the power into their own hands, which they were forced to maintain by hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were anciently the tyrants in most of the small states of Greece; and such were those in several parts of Italy, about three or four cen-

turies ago, as Machiavel informs us. The other original of mercenary armies seems to have risen from larger kingdoms or commonwealths, which had subdued provinces at a distance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them, to prevent insurrections from the natives. Of this sort were Macedon, Carthage, and Rome of old; Venice and Holland at this day, as well as most kingdoms in Europe. So that mercenary forces in a free state, whether monarchy or commonwealth, seem only necessary, either for preserving their conquests, (which in such governments it is not prudent to extend too far,) or else for maintaining war at a distance.

In this last, which at present is our most important case, there are certain maxims, that all wise governments have observed.

The first I shall mention is, that no private man should have a commission to be general for life, * let his merit and services be ever so great; or, if a prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such a commission. in one hand, let him (to save time and blood) deliver up his crown with the other. The Romans, in the height and perfection of their government, usually sent out one of the new consuls to be general against their most formidable enemy, and recalled the old one; who often returned before the next election, and, according as he had merit, was sent to command in some other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a second, and sometimes a third year. But if Paulus Æmilius, or Scipio himself, had presumed to move the senate to continue their commission for life, they would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of

* This, it is confidently affirmed by the Tory writers, was a scheme of the Duke of Marlborough.

the people. Cæsar, indeed, (between whom and a certain general, some of late, with much discretion, have made a parallel,)* had his command in Gaul continued

* The EXAMINER seems to allude to the following remarkable, and, to say the least, imprudent, article in the TATLER, No. 37. Such a passage, published by so warm an adherent of Marlborough as Steele, gives credit to Macpherson's assertion, that there really was some intention of maintaining the duke in power, by his influence in the army. It is even affirmed, that under pretence his commission under the great seal could not be superseded by the queen's order of dismissal, it was designed that he should assemble the troops which were in town, and secure the court and capital. To prevent which, his commission was superseded by another under the great seal being issued as speedily as possible. The industrious editor of the Tatler, in 1786, is of opinion, that the following article was written by Addison; but the violent councils which it intimates seem less congenial to his character than to that of Steele, a less reflecting man, and bred a soldier. It is worthy of notice, that the passage is cancelled in all subsequent editions of the Tatler, till restored from the original folio in that of 1786. This evidently implies Steele's own sense, that more was meant than met the ear; and it affords a presumptive proof, that very violent measures had at least been proposed, if not agreed upon, by some of Marlborough's adherents.

“ Will's Coffee-house, July 3.

“ A very ingenious gentleman was complaining this evening, that the players are grown so severe critics, that they would not take in his play, though it has as many fine things in it as any play that has been writ since the days of Dryden. He began his discourse about his play with a preface.

“ There is, said he, somewhat (however we palliate it) in the very frame and make of us, that subjects our minds to chagrin and irresolution on any emergency of time or place. The difficulty grows on our sickened imagination, under all the killing circumstances of danger and disappointment. This we see, not only in the men of retirement and fancy, but in the characters of the men of action; with this only difference, the coward sees the danger, and sickens under it; the hero, warmed by the difficulty, di-

to him for five years ; and was afterwards made perpetual Dictator, that is to say, general for life ; which gave

lates and rises in proportion to that, and in some sort makes use of his very fears to disarm it. A remarkable instance of this we have in the great Cæsar, when he came to the Rubicon, and was entering upon a part, perhaps the most hazardous he ever bore, (certainly the most ungrateful,) a war with his countrymen. When his mind brooded o'er personal affronts, perhaps his anger burned with a desire of revenge. But when more serious reflections laid before him the hazard of the enterprise, with the dismal consequences which were likely to attend it, aggravated by a special circumstance, ' What figure it would bear in the world, or how be excused to posterity ! What shall he do ? ' His honour, which was his religion, bids him arm ; and he sounds the inclinations of his party, by this set speech :—

Cæsar to his Party at the Rubicon.

“ Great Jove, attend, and those my native soil,
Safe in my triumphs, glutted in my spoil ;
Witness with what reluctance I oppose
My arms to thine, secure of other foes.
What passive breast can bear disgrace like mine ?
Traitor !—For this I conquer'd on the Rhine,
Endur'd their ten years drudgery in Gaul,
Adjourn'd their fate, and saved the Capitol.
I grew by every guilty triumph less ;
The crowd, when drunk with joy, their souls express
Impatient of the war, yet fear success. }
Brave actions dazzle with too bright a ray,
Like birds obscene, they chatter at the day ;
Giddy with rule, and valiant in debate,
They throw the die of war, to save the state.
And gods ! to gild ingratitude with fame,
Assume the patriot's with the rebel's name.
Farewell, my friends, your general forlorn,
To your bare pity, and the public scorn,
Must lay that honour and his laurel down,
To serve the vain caprices of the gown ;
Exposed to all indignities the brave
Deserve of those they glory'd but to save,
To rods and axes !—No, the slaves can't dare
Play with my grief, and tempt my last despair ;
This shall the honours which it won maintain,
Or do me justice, ere I hug my chain.”

him the power and the will of utterly destroying the Roman liberty. But in this time the Romans were very much degenerated, and great corruptions had crept into their morals and discipline. However, we see there still were some some remains of a noble spirit among them ; for, when Cæsar sent to be chosen consul, notwithstanding his absence, they decreed he should come in person, give up his command, and *petere more majorum*.

It is not impossible, but a general may desire such a commission out of inadvertency, at the instigation of his friends, or perhaps of his enemies, or merely for the benefit and honour of it, without intending any such dreadful consequences ; and, in that case, a wise prince, or state, may barely refuse it, without showing any marks of their displeasure. But the request, in its own nature, is highly criminal, and ought to be entered so upon record, to terrify others, in time to come, from venturing to make it.

Another maxim to be observed, by a free state engaged in war, is, to keep the military power in absolute subjection to the civil, nor ever suffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A general and his army are servants, hired by the civil power to act, as they are directed thence, and with a commission large or limited, as the administration shall think fit ; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole system, by which armies are governed, is quite alien from the peaceful institutions of states at home ; and if the rewards be so inviting as to tempt a senator to take a post in the army, while he is there on his duty, he ought to consider himself in no other capacity. I know not any sort of men so apt, as soldiers are, to reprimand those who presume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When

they hear any of us in a coffeehouse, wondering that such a victory was not pursued ; complaining that such a town cost more men and money than it was worth to take it ; or, that such an opportunity was lost in fighting the enemy ; they presently reprove us, and often with justice enough, for meddling with matters out of our sphere ; and clearly convince us of our mistakes, by terms of art that none of us understand. Nor do we escape so ; for they reflect with the utmost contempt on our ignorance, that we, who sit at home in ease and security, never stirring from our firesides, should pretend, from books and general reason, to argue upon military affairs ; which, after all, if we may judge from the share of intellectuals in some, who are said to excel that way, is not so very profound or difficult a science.* But, if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, surely these gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themselves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beside their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to prescribe rules for trade, to determine points in philosophy, to be moderators in an assembly of divines, or direct in a court of justice, as to misplace their talent in examining affairs of state ; especially in what relates to the choice of ministers, who are never so likely to be ill chosen as when approved by them. It would be endless to show how pernicious all steps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I shall only pro-

* Swift, whose private and peculiar prejudices are often warped in with his political opinions, seems to have had a great dislike to officers of the army. See the character, introduced as an officer, in the humorous poem on Hamilton's Bawn.

duce two at present; one in Rome, the other in England. The first is of Cæsar: when he came to the city with his soldiers to settle the ministry, there was an end of their liberty for ever. The second was, in the great rebellion against King Charles the First: the King and both Houses were agreed upon the terms of a peace; but the officers of the army (as Ludlow relates it) set a guard upon the House of Commons, took a list of the members, and kept all by force out of the House, except those who were for bringing the king to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government, and ruled the island by major-generals, we received most admirable instances of their skill in politics. To say the truth, such formidable sticklers* can have but two reasons for desiring to interfere in the administration; the first is, that of Cæsar and Cromwell, of which God forbid I should accuse or suspect any body, since the second is pernicious enough, and that is, to preserve those in power, who are for perpetuating a war, rather than see others advanced, who, they are sure, will use all proper means to promote a safe and honourable peace.

Thirdly, Since it is observed of armies, that, in the present age, they are brought to some degree of humanity, and more regular demeanour to each other and to the world than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim to endeavour preserving this temper among them; without which, they would soon degenerate into savages. To this end, it would be prudent, among other things,

* The judges of the field in a formal duel, whose duty it was to interfere when the rules of judicial combat were violated, were called sticklers, from the wooden truncheons which they held in their hands. Hence the verb to *stickle*.

to forbid that detestable custom of drinking to the damnation or confusion of any person whatsoever.*

Such desperate acts, and the opinions infused along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to scatter madness and sedition through a whole camp. So seldom upon their knees to pray, and so often to curse ! this is not properly atheism, but a sort of antireligion prescribed by the devil, and which an atheist of common sense would scorn as an absurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice last autumn, somewhere or other, to drink damnation and confusion (and this with circumstances very aggravating and horrid) to the new ministry, and to those who had any hand in turning out the old ; that is to say, to those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to employ in her greatest affairs, with something more than a glance against the queen herself. And if it be true, that these orgies were attended with certain doubtful words of standing by their general, who, without question, abhorred them, let any man consider the consequence of such dispositions, if they should happen to spread. I could only wish, for the honour of the army, as well as of the queen and ministry, that a remedy had been applied to the disease, in the place and time where it grew. If men of such principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were sure of a general for life, who had any tincture of ambition, we might soon bid farewell to ministers and parliaments, whether new or old.

* Several of the officers in Marlborough's army had drunk damnation to the new ministry on their knees ; for which General Honeywood and others lost their commissions. See Journal, Vol. II. p. 106.

I am only sorry such an accident has happened toward the close of a war, when it is chiefly the interest of those gentlemen, who have posts in the army, to behave themselves in such a manner as might encourage the legislature to make some provision for them, when there will be no farther need of their services. They are to consider themselves as persons, by their education, unqualified for many other stations of life. Their fortunes will not suffer them to retain * to a party after its fall, nor have they weight or abilities to help toward its resurrection. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to which they will never make their way by solemn execrations of the ministry; a ministry of the queen's own election, and fully answering the wishes of her people. This unhappy step in some of their brethren may pass for an uncontrollable argument, that politics are not their business or their element. The fortune of war has raised several persons up to swelling titles, and great commands over numbers of men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a sort of deportment that ought to have been dropt behind in that short passage to Harwich. It puts me in mind of a dialogue in Lucian, where Charon, wafting one of their predecessors over Styx, ordered him to strip off his armour and fine clothes, yet still thought him too heavy: "But," said he, "put off likewise that pride and presumption, those high-swelling words, and that vain glory;" because they were of no use on the other side of the water. Thus, if

* This mode of expression is now obsolete, though we still say *retainers to a party*.

all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper scene, it would be much more for the interest of the owners, and less offensive to their fellow-subjects.

No. XXI.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1710.

Nam et majorum instituta tueri, sacris ceremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est.

—*Ruituraque semper
Stat (mirum!) moles—*

A wise man will protect and defend the rights of the church ; which, in spite of the malice of its enemies, although tottering, and on the brink of destruction, stands secure, to the admiration of all men.

WHOEVER is a true lover of our constitution, must needs be pleased to see what successful endeavours are daily made to restore it, in every branch, to its ancient form, from the languishing condition it has long lain in, and with such deadly symptoms.

I have already handled some abuses during the late management, and shall, in convenient time, go on with the rest. Hitherto I have confined myself to those of the state ; but, with the good leave of some who think it a matter of small moment, I shall now take liberty to say something of the church.

For several years past, there has not, I think, in Europe, been any society of men upon so unhappy a foot

as the clergy of England, nor more hardly treated by those very persons, from whom they deserved much better quarter, and in whose power they chiefly had put it to use them so ill. I would not willingly misrepresent facts ; but I think it generally allowed by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the Revolution, against those many invasions of our rights, proceeded principally from the clergy, who are likewise known to have rejected all advances made them, to close with the measures at that time concerting ; while the dissenters, to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell into the basest compliances with the court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulsome addresses, and took employments and commissions, by virtue of the dispensing power, against the direct laws of the land.* All this is so true, that, if ever the Pretender comes in, they will, next to those of his own religion, have the fairest claim and pretensions to his favour, from their merit and eminent services to his supposed father ; who, without such encouragement, would probably never have been misled to go the lengths he did. It should likewise be remembered, to the everlasting honour of the London divines, that, in those dangerous times, they writ and published the best collection of arguments against popery that ever appeared in the world. At the Revolution, the body of the clergy joined heartily in the common cause, except a few, whose sufferings, perhaps,

* The dissenters were at first disposed to make common cause with the Catholics in favour of the dispensing power claimed by James II. ; and an address from the Presbyterians went so far as to praise the king for having " restored to God his empire over conscience."

have atoned for their mistakes, like men who are content to go about for avoiding a gulf or a precipice, but come into the old straight road again as soon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail ; for, as in the reign of King Charles the First, several well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming some abuses, while others, who had deeper designs, were still calling out for a thorough reformation, which ended at last in the ruin of the kingdom ; so, after the late king's coming to the throne, there was a restless cry from men of the same principles for a thorough revolution, which, as some were carrying it on, must have ended in the destruction of the monarchy and church.

What a violent humour has run ever since against the clergy, and from what corner spread and fomented, is, I believe, manifest to all men. It looked like a set quarrel against Christianity ; and if we call to mind several of the leaders, it must, in a great measure, have been actually so. Nothing was more common, in writing and conversation, than to hear that reverend body charged in gross with what was utterly inconsistent, despised for their poverty, hated for their riches ; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury ; accused for promoting arbitrary power, and for resisting the prerogative ; censured for their pride, and scorned for their meanness of spirit. The representatives of the lower clergy were railed at for disputing the power of the bishops, by the known abhorrrers of episcopacy, and abused for doing nothing in the convocations, by those very men who helped to bind up their hands. The vice, the folly, the ignorance of every single man, were laid upon the character ; their jurisdiction, censures, and discipline, trampled under foot ; yet mighty complaints against their exces-

sive power ; the men of wit employed to turn the priesthood itself into ridicule ; in short, groaning every where under the weight of poverty, oppression, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money spent in their education to fit them for the service of the altar, and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church ! However, it may be some comfort to the persons of that holy function, that their divine Founder, as well as his harbinger, met with the like reception :—“ John came neither eating or drinking, and they say, he hath a devil ; the Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, behold a glutton and a wine-bibber,” &c.

In this deplorable state of the clergy, nothing but the hand of Providence, working by its glorious instrument the queen, could have been able to turn the people's hearts so surprisingly in their favour. This princess, destined for the safety of Europe, and a blessing to her subjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church ; and it was hoped the nation would have followed such an example, which nothing could have prevented, but the false politics of a set of men, who form their maxims upon those of every tottering commonwealth, which is always struggling for life, subsisting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. These men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flourish, unless the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages ; a system only proper for small popular states, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown ; which, with us, is best upheld by a monarchy in possession of its just prerogative, a senate of nobles and of commons, and a clergy established in its due rights, with

a suitable maintenance by law.* But these men come, with the spirit of shopkeepers, to frame rules for the administration of kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole art of government consisted in the importation of nutmegs, and the curing of herrings. Such an island as ours can afford enough to support the majesty of a crown, the honour of a nobility, and the dignity of a magistracy; we can encourage arts and sciences, maintain our bishops and clergy, and suffer our gentry to live in a decent hospitable manner; yet still there will remain hands sufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deserve the best encouragement, but not to a degree of sending every living soul into the warehouse or the workshop.

This pedantry of republican politics has done infinite mischief among us. To this we owe those noble schemes of treating Christianity as a system of speculative opinions which no man should be bound to believe; of making the being and the worship of God a creature of the state; in consequence of these, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleasure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions; that they should be prescribed what to teach, by those who are to learn from them; and, upon default, have a staff and a pair of shoes left at their door, † with many other projects of equal piety, wisdom, and good nature.

* Something being allowed for the ardour of dispute, enough remains in this position that is highly censurable.

† This is said to have been the mode in which the governors of a Dutch province were wont to give intimation to those who intermeddled with state affairs, that they would do wisely to withdraw themselves from the state.

But, God be thanked, they and their schemes are vanished, and their places shall know them no more. When I think of that inundation of atheism, infidelity, profaneness, and licentiousness, which was likely to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it first proceeded, and how the people joined with the queen's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable passage in the Revelation, where "the serpent with seven heads* cast out of his mouth water after the woman, like a flood, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood: but the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon had cast out of his mouth." For the queen having changed her ministry suitable to her own wisdom and the wishes of her subjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the same time summoned the convocation by her royal writ, as in all times had been accustomed; and, soon after their meeting, sent a most gracious letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be communicated to the bishops and clergy of his province, taking notice of "the loose and profane principles which had been openly scattered and propagated among her subjects; that the consultations of the clergy were particularly requisite to repress and prevent such daring attempts, for which her subjects from all parts of the kingdom have shown their just abhorrence; she hopes the endeavours of the clergy in this respect will not be unsuccessful; and, for her part, is ready to give them all fit encouragement to proceed in the dispatch of such business as properly belongs to them, and to grant them

* Meaning the seven heads of the opposition, called in No. 25 a Heptarchy.

powers requisite to carry on so good a work :” in conclusion, “ earnestly recommending to them to avoid disputes ; and determining to do all that in her lies to compose and extinguish them.”

It is to be hoped, that this last part of her majesty’s letter will be the first she will please to execute ; for it seems, this very letter created the first dispute, the fact whereof is thus related :—The Upper House, having formed an address to the queen before they received her majesty’s letter, sent both address and letter together to the Lower House, with a message, excusing their not mentioning the letter in the address ; because this was formed before the other was received. The Lower House returned them, with a desire that an address might be formed with a due regard and acknowledgments for the letter. After some difficulties, the same address was sent down again, with a clause inserted, making some short mention of the said letter. This the Lower House did not think sufficient, and sent it back again with the same request ; whereupon the archbishop, after a short consultation with some of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month ; and no address at all was sent to the queen.*

* During the reign of King William III. the Convocation was regularly summoned to meet at the same time with the parliament ; but was as regularly prorogued without being allowed an opportunity to proceed to business. In 1709, the Lower House of Convocation refused to submit to prorogation, claiming a privilege to continue sitting as long as the parliament. In 1710, the ministry, who had come in by the cry that the church was in danger, expected not a little support from the Convocation, especially from the Lower House, which was under the management of Atterbury. In the Upper House, the low church tenets predominated, owing to the influence of Tension, the primate, and of

I understand not ecclesiastical affairs well enough to comment upon this matter ; but it seems to me, that all methods of doing service to the church and kingdom, by means of a convocation, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy against such an incident. And, if this proceeding be agreeable to the institution, spiritual assemblies must needs be strangely contrived, very different from any lay senate yet known in the world. Surely, from the nature of such a synod, it must be a very unhappy circumstance, when the majority of the bishops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time suspected for any principle bordering upon those professed by enemies to episcopacy ; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the present set of bishops, I doubt it will call some things to mind, that may turn the scale of general favour on the inferior clergy's side ; who, with a profound duty to her majesty, are perfectly pleased with the present turn of affairs. Besides, curious people will be apt to inquire into the dates of some promotions ; to call to mind what designs were then upon the anvil, and thence make malicious deductions. Perhaps they will observe the manner of voting on the bishops' bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the upper house of convocation. There is, however, one comfort, that, under the present dispositions of the kingdom, a dislike to the proceedings of any of their lordships, even to the number of a majority, will be purely personal, and not turned to the disadvantage of the order. And for my part, as I am

such other prelates as had been promoted while the Whigs were in power. Hence various disputes took place betwixt the houses ; nor were they able to agree upon the terms of a representation to the queen in answer to her letter.

a true lover of the church, I would rather find the inclinations of the people favourable to episcopacy in general, than see a majority of prelates cried up by those who are known enemies to the character. Nor, indeed, has anything given me more offence for several years past, than to observe how some of that bench have been caressed by certain persons, and others of them openly celebrated by the infamous pens of atheists, republicans, and fanatics.

Time and mortality can only remedy these inconveniences in the church, which are not to be cured, like those in the state, by a change of ministry. If we may guess the temper of a convocation from the choice of a prolocutor, as it is usual to do that of a house of commons by the speaker, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themselves much reputation, by pitching upon a gentleman of so much piety, wit, and learning, for that office, and one who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of knowledge which are proper for it.* I am sorry that the three Latin speeches, delivered upon presenting the prolocutor, were not made public; they might, perhaps, have given us some light into the disposition of each house; and, besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the style and matter, as might have made up in entertainment what it wanted in instruction. †

* Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

† He probably alludes to that made by Dr Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury; a dull and heavy, though very worthy man. He was a keen adherent of the Whig party.

No. XXII.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1711.

Nullæ sunt occultiores insidiæ, quam eæ, quæ latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine.

It is extremely difficult to explore those designs which are conceived under the veil of duty, and lie hid under the pretence of friendship.

The following answer is written in the true style, and with the usual candour of such pieces; which I have imitated to the best of my skill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely satisfied with it.

The Examiner cross-examined; or, A full Answer to the last Examiner.

IF I durst be so bold with this author, I would gladly ask him a familiar question:—Pray, sir, who made you an examiner? He talks in one of his insipid papers of eight or nine thousand corruptions, while we were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he has hardly produced fifty:

Parturiunt montes, &c.

HOR.

But I shall confine myself at present to his last paper. He tells us, the queen began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church. Here's priestcraft with a witness! This is the constant language of your highfliers,

to call those who are hired to teach the religion of the magistrate, by the name of the church. But this is not all; for, in the very next line, he says, It was hoped the nation would have followed this example. You see the faction begins already to speak out; this is an open demand for the abbey-lands. This furious zealot would have us priest-ridden again, like our popish ancestors; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to suppress such audacious attempts; else we have spent so much blood and treasure to very little purpose, in maintaining religion and the Revolution. But what can we expect from a man, who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade? A country, says he, may flourish (these are his own words) without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages. What! we must immediately banish or murder the Palatines; forbid all foreign merchants not only the Exchange but the kingdom; persecute the dissenters with fire and faggot; and make it high treason to speak any other tongue but English. In another place, he talks of a serpent with seven heads, which is a manifest corruption of the text; for the words, *seven heads*, are not mentioned in that verse. However, we know what serpent he would mean; a serpent with fourteen legs, or indeed no serpent at all, but seven great men, who were the best ministers, the truest Protestants, and the most disinterested patriots that ever served a prince. But nothing is so inconsistent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a Whig or a Tory, a Protestant or a Papist; he finds fault with convocations; says, they are assemblies strangely contrived, and yet lays the fault upon us, that we bound their hands: I wish we could have bound their tongues too. But, as fast as their

hands were bound, they could make a shift to hold their pens, and have their share in the guilt of ruining the hopefulest party and ministry that ever prescribed to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to see a majority of prelates cried up by those who are enemies to the character; now I always thought, that the concessions of enemies were more to a man's advantage than the praise of his friends. Time and mortality, he says, can only remedy these inconveniences in the church; that is, in other words, when certain bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own stamp. Not so fast; you are not yet so sure of your game. We have already got one comfortable loss in Spain,* although by a general of our own; for joy of which, our junto had a merry meeting at the house of their great proselyte, † on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more such blows would perhaps set us right again, and then we can employ mortality as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that three letters, spoken when the prolocutor was presented, were made public. I suppose he would be content with one, and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have grace, without either eloquence or Latin, which is all I shall say to this malicious innuendo.

Having thus, I hope, given a full and satisfactory answer to the Examiner's last paper, I shall now go on

* At Brihuega, where, by some mismanagement, the British troops, under General Stanhope, were surprised and made prisoners, almost within hearing of General Stahremberg, who commanded the rest of the confederate army. This mischance happened 21st November 1701.

† Probably the Earl of Nottingham.

to a more important affair, which is, to prove, by several undeniable instances, that the late ministry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confess, a secret to the clergy wherein this friendship did consist. For information, therefore, of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wish, that what I am to say were to be written in brass, for an eternal memorial; the rather, because for the future the church may endeavour to stand unsupported by those patrons, who expired in doing it their last good office, and will never rise to preserve it any more.

Let us, therefore, produce the pious endeavours of these church defenders, who were its patrons, by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it, by their exemplary lives.

First, St Paul tells us, there must be heresies in the church, that the truth may be manifest; and, therefore, by due course of reasoning, the more heresies there are, the more manifest will the truth be made. This being maturely considered by these lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many heresies as they could, that the light of truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To show their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it entirely out of the hands of God Almighty, (because that was a foreign jurisdiction,) and made it their own creature, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their orders to Tindal, and others, to give public notice of it.

Thirdly, Because charity is the most celebrated of all Christian virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond

all bounds ; and instead of shutting the church against dissenters, were ready to open it to all comers, and break down its walls, rather than that any should want room to enter. The strength of a state, we know, consists in the number of people, how different soever in their callings ; and why should not the strength of a church consist in the same, how different soever in their creeds ? For that reason, they charitably attempted to abolish the test, which tied up so many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to as a crime by several malignant Tories ; and denied as a slander by many unthinking people among ourselves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to ask such questions as these : Was your test repealed ? had we not a majority ? might we not have done it, if we pleased ? To which the others answer, You did what you could : you prepared the way, but you found a fatal impediment from that quarter whence the sanction of the law must come ; and, therefore, to save your credit, you condemned a paper to be burnt, which yourselves had brought in. But, alas ! the miscarriage of that noble project for the safety of the church had another original ; the knowledge whereof depends upon a piece of secret history, which I shall now lay open.

These church-protectors had directed a Presbyterian preacher to draw up a bill for repealing the test. It was accordingly done with great art ; and in the preamble, several expressions of civility to the established church ; and when it came to the qualifications of all those who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken special care to make them large enough for all Christians whatsoever, by transcribing the very words

(only formed into an oath) which Quakers are obliged to profess by a former act of parliament, as I shall here set them down : “ I, A B, profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God ; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore ; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.” This bill was carried to the chief leaders, for their approbation, with these terrible words turned into an oath : What should they do ? Those few among them, who fancied they believed in God, were sure they did not believe in Christ, or the Holy Spirit, or one syllable of the Bible ; and they were as sure that every body knew their opinion in those matters, which, indeed, they had been always too sincere to disguise ; how, therefore, could they take such an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clendon, and all the tribe of free-thinkers, and so give a scandal to weak unbelievers ? Upon this nice point of honour and conscience, the matter was hushed, the project for repealing the test let fall, and the sacrament left as the smaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, These pillars of the church, because the harvest was great, and the labourers few, and because they would ease the bishops from the grievous trouble of laying on hands, were willing to allow that power to all men whatsoever, to prevent that terrible consequence of unchurching those, who thought a hand from under a cloak as effectual as from lawn sleeves. And, indeed, what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general naturalization for priesthood ?

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men,

because truth never appears so fair as when confronted with falsehood, they directed books to be published, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the Second and Third Person, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the soul. To this we owe that great sense of religion, that respect and kindness of the clergy, and that true love of virtue, so manifest of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could anything be more discreet, than to leave the merits of each cause to such wise, impartial judges; who might otherwise fall under the slavery of believing, by education and prejudice.

Sixthly, Because nothing so much distracts the thoughts as too great a variety of subjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to prescribe the clergy what subjects they should preach upon, and in what manner, that they might be at no loss; and this, no doubt, was a proper work for such hands, so thoroughly versed in the theory and practice of all Christian duties.

Seventhly, To save trouble and expence to the clergy, they contrived that convocations should meet as seldom as possible; and when they were suffered to assemble, would never allow them to meddle with any business; because, they said, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the whole man. For the same reason, they were very desirous to excuse the bishops from sitting in parliament, that they might be at more leisure to stay at home, and look after the inferior clergy.

I shall mention at present but one more instance of their pious zeal for the church. They had somewhere heard the maxim, that *Sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesie*; therefore, in order to sow this seed, they began with impeaching a clergyman:* and that it might be a

* Sacheverel.

true martyrdom in every circumstance, they proceeded as much as possible against common law ; which the long-robe part of the managers knew was in a hundred instances directly contrary to all their positions, and were sufficiently warned of it beforehand ; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a sudden ; for a certain great person, * (whose character has been lately published by some stupid and lying writer,) who very much distinguished himself by his zeal in forwarding this impeachment, had several years ago endeavoured to persuade the late king to give way to just such another attempt. He told his majesty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous sermons, and that the only way to put a stop to such insolence was to impeach him in parliament. The king inquired the character of the man : O, sir, said my lord, the most violent, hot, positive fellow in England ; so extremely wilful, that, I believe, he would be heartily glad to be a martyr. The king answered, Is it so ? then I am resolved to disappoint him ; and would never hear more of the matter, by which that hopeful project unhappily miscarried.

I have hitherto confined myself to those endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of our party ; but, if my paper were not drawing toward an end, I could produce several instances of particular persons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have confirmed the character so justly due to the whole body. I shall at present mention only two, and illustrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

* Lord Wharton.

That worthy patriot and true lover of the church, whom a late Examiner is supposed to reflect on under the name of Verres, felt a pious impulse to be a benefactor to the cathedral of Gloucester ; but how to do it in the most decent, generous manner, was the question. At last he thought of an expedient : one morning, or night, he stole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that, which, in cleanly phrase, is called disburdening of nature. He was discovered, prosecuted, and condemned to pay a thousand pounds ; which sum was all employed to support the church, as, no doubt, the benefactor meant it.*

There is another person, whom the same writer is thought to point at, under the name of Will Bigamy. † This gentleman, knowing that marriage fees were a considerable perquisite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them cent. per cent. for the good of the church. His invention was to marry a second wife, while the first was alive, convincing her of the lawfulness by such arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the same example. These he had drawn up in writing, with an intention to publish for the general good : and it is hoped, he may now have leisure to finish them.

* This anecdote relates to Lord Wharton, who, with other profligates, had been actually guilty of what is here stated. Swift, in a subsequent Examiner, acknowledges himself mistaken as to the precise church in which the fact was committed.

† Lord Chancellor Cowper. See a note upon No. 13 of the Examiner. Some unfortunate stains attached to this ingenious family. The chancellor was suspected of bigamy, and his brother, the judge, was tried for the supposed murder of Sarah Stout, a young lady attached to him.

No. XXIII.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1710-11.

Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi Pax quæsitæ videatur.

War should be undertaken only with a view to procure a solid and lasting peace.

I AM satisfied, that no reasonable man of either party can justly be offended at any thing I said in one of my papers relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down, perhaps many persons may conclude, that I had a mind the world should think there had been occasion given by some late abuses among men of that calling; and they conclude right: for my intention is, that my hints may be understood, and my quotations and allegories applied; and I am in some pain to think, that in the Orcades on one side, and the western coasts of Ireland on the other, the Examiner may want a key in several parts, which I wish I could furnish them with. As to the French king, I am under no concern at all; I hear he has left off reading my papers, and by what he has found in them, dislikes our proceedings more than ever; and intends either to make great additions to his armies, or propose new terms for a peace. So false is that which is commonly reported, of his mighty satisfaction in our change of ministry.* And I think it clear,

* Alluding to a pretended intercepted letter from the Bavarian

that his letter of thanks to the Tories of Great Britain must either have been extorted from him against his judgment, or was a cast of his politics to set the people against the present ministry, wherein it has wonderfully succeeded.

But, though I have never heard, or never regarded any objections made against that paper which mentions the army, yet I intended this as a sort of apology for it. And first I declare, (because we live in a mistaking world,) that at hinting at some proceedings, wherein a few persons are said to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much detested that barbarous injustice among the writers of a late party, to be ever guilty of it myself; I mean, the accusing of societies for the crimes of a few. On the other side, I must take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions than other numbers of men. The maxims proposed were occasionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, because I am sure, considering what has passed, it would be a crime to think otherwise. All posts in the army, all employments at court, and many others, are, or ought to be, given and resumed at the mere pleasure of the prince; yet, when I see a great officer broke, a change made in the court or the ministry, and this under the most just and gracious princess that ever reigned, I must naturally conclude, it is done upon pru-

minister at Paris, dated Versailles, October 18, 1710, in which the French king and ministry are described as overjoyed at the change of government in England, and as promising to themselves the greatest advantages. It is published in French and English, in the Fourteenth Number of the *MEDLEY*.

dent considerations, and for some great demerit in the sufferers. But then, is not the punishment sufficient? Is it generous or charitable to trample on the unfortunate, and expose their faults to the world in the strongest colours? And would it not suit better with magnanimity, as well as common good nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without question; provided it could be so contrived, that their very names, as well as actions, might be forgotten for ever: such an act of oblivion would be for the honour of the nation, and beget a better opinion of us with posterity; and then I might have spared the world and myself the trouble of examining. But at present there is a cruel dilemma in the case; the friends and abettors of the late ministry are every day publishing their praises to the world, and casting reflections upon the present persons in power. This is so barefaced an aspersion upon the queen, that I know not how any good subject can with patience endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with regard to the opinions in dispute. Shall they, who have lost all power and love of the people, be allowed to scatter their poison? and shall not those, who are at least of the strongest side, be suffered to bring an antidote? And how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them see, that these discarded statesmen were justly laid aside; and producing as many instances to prove it as we can, not from any personal hatred to them, but in justification to the best of queens. The many scurrilities I have heard and read against this poor paper of mine are in such a strain, that, considering the present state of affairs, they look like a jest. They usually run after the following manner: "What! Shall this insolent writer presume to censure the late

ministry, the ablest, the most faithful, and truest lovers of their country and its constitution, that ever served a prince? Shall he reflect on the best House of Commons that ever sat within those walls? Has not the queen changed both, for a ministry and parliament of Jacobites and highfliers, who are selling us to France, and bringing over the Pretender?" This is the very sum and force of all their reasonings, and this is their method of complaining against the Examiner. In them, it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the queen, and the ministry and parliament she has chosen with the universal applause of her people: in us, it is insolent to defend her majesty and her choice, or to answer their objections, by showing the reasons why those changes were necessary.

The same style has been used in the late case concerning some gentlemen in the army.* Such a clamour was raised by a set of men, who had the boldness to tax the administration with cruelty and injustice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a little, by showing the ill consequences that might arise from some proceedings, although without application to particular persons. And what do they offer in answer? Nothing but a few poor common-places against calumny and informers, which might have been full as just and seasonable in a plot against the sacred person of the queen.†

But by the way, why are these idle people so indis-

* Macartney, Meredith, Honeywood, and others, dismissed for drinking damnation to the queen's new ministry.

† He alludes to the MEDLEY, No. 13, which exclaims against the trifling babblers or prating knaves, "who reported what was done or spoken in private companies, and trusts that the information of such persons had not been allowed to cancel the merit of the soldier's services."

creet to name those two words, which afford occasion of laying open to the world such an infamous scene of subornation and perjury, as well as calumny and informing, as, I believe, is without example; when a whole cabal attempted an action, wherein a condemned criminal * refused to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I disapprove their sagacity who could foretell so long before by what hand they should one day fall, and therefore thought any means justifiable, by which they might prevent it.

But, waving this at present, it must be owned in justice to the army, that those violences did not proceed so far among them as some have believed; nor ought the madness of a few to be laid at their doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due praises to those brave troops who did their part in procuring so many victories for the allies, that I could wish every officer and private soldier had their full share of honour, in proportion to their deserts; being thus far of the Athenians' mind, who, when it was proposed that the statue of Miltiades should be set up alone in some public place of the city, said, they would agree to it, whenever he conquered alone, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late ministry before the present; or, if wishing alone could be of any use for wishing their continuance, because then they might be secure of the war's continuance too: whereas, since affairs have been put into other hands,

* Greg, a clerk in Harley's office, being convicted of a treasonable correspondence with France, great pains was taken by that statesman's political adversaries to involve him in the guilt of his subaltern. See much more of this hereafter.

they may perhaps lie under some apprehensions of a peace ; which no army, especially in the course of success, was ever inclined to ; and which all wise states have in such a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point, wherein the civil and military politics have always disagreed : and for that reason I affirmed it necessary, in all free governments, that the latter should be absolutely in subjection to the former ; otherwise one of these two inconveniences must arise, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the civil institution into a military.

I am ready to allow all that has been said of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great successes abroad ; nor is it their fault that those important victories had no better consequences at home, though it may be their advantage. War is their trade and business : to improve and cultivate the advantages of success is an affair of the cabinet ; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakness or corruption, according to the usual uncertainty of wars, may be of the most fatal consequence to a nation. For, pray let me represent our condition in such a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years blessed with a queen, who, beside all virtues that can enter into the composition of a private person, possesses every regal quality that can contribute to make a people happy ; of great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors : of much discernment in choosing proper instruments, when she follows her own judgment ; and only capable of being deceived by that excess of goodness which makes her judge of others by herself : frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the public,

which in proportion she does, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her subjects ; but from her own nature generous and charitable to all, who want or deserve ; and, in order to exercise those virtues, denying herself all entertainments of expence which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in Flanders, our arms have been crowned with perpetual success in battles and sieges ; not to mention several fortunate actions in Spain. These facts being thus stated, which none can deny, it is natural to ask, how we have improved such advantages, and to what account they have turned ? I shall use no discouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worse by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the best physicians, before the case grows desperate. But I would ask, whether France, or any other kingdom, would have made so little use of such prodigious opportunities ? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremest degree of folly and corruption ; and where those have lain, let the world judge. Instead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which has been the perpetual maxim of all wise states, it has been reckoned factious and malignant even to express our wishes for it ; and such a condition imposed, as was never offered to any prince, who had an inch of ground to dispute ; *quæ enim est conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest ?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who sat at home, and were called to consult upon the good of the kingdom, to be so utterly averse from putting an end to a long, expensive war, which the victorious, as well as conquered, side, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the sword ; they

had no share in the honour ; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power ; that the queen saw through their designs ; that they had entirely lost the hearts of the clergy ; that the landed men were against them ; that they were detested by the body of the people ; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary, when the war was at an end. For these reasons, they resolved to disappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party should be so deeply rooted, as to make it impossible to shake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters so fast, as in a little time must have ruined the constitution, if the crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than such dreadful consequences of their power. And, indeed, if the former danger had been greater than some hoped or feared, I see no difficulty in the choice, which was the same with his, who said, he would rather be devoured by wolves than by rats. I therefore still insist, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with the army for concurring with the ministry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all ; pardonable in those who have not yet made their fortunes ; and as lawful in the rest, as love of power, or love of money can make it. But, as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power, or when a corrupt ministry joins in giving it too great a scope, the consequence can be nothing less than infallible ruin and slavery to the state.

After I had finished this paper, the printer sent me two small pamphlets, called "The Management of the War;" * written with some plausibility, much artifice, and abundance of misrepresentations, as well as direct falsehoods in point of fact. These I have thought worth examining, which I shall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

No. XXIV.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1710-11.

Parva momenta in spem metumque impellunt animos.

The merest trifles influence the human mind, and impel it to
hope or fear.

HOPES are natural to most men, especially to sanguine complexions; and among the various changes that happen in the course of public affairs, they are seldom without some grounds. Even in desperate cases, where it is impossible they should have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have some resource which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for several months past

* Dr Hare, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, published at separate times four pamphlets upon "The Management of the War," entitled Letters to a Tory Member. The two first of these tracts are here alluded to.

the condition of those people, whom I am forced, for want of other phrases, to call the ruined party. They have taken up, since their fall, some real, and some pretended hopes. When the Earl of Sunderland was discarded, they hoped her majesty would proceed no farther in the change of her ministry ; and had the insolence to misrepresent her words to foreign states. They hoped nobody durst advise the dissolution of the parliament.* When this was done, and farther alterations made in court, they hoped, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation. They likewise hoped, that we should have some terrible loss abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their hopes, whether real or assumed, there is none more extraordinary than that in which they now would seem to place their whole confidence : that this great turn of affairs was only occasioned by a short madness of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are open, and they grow cool and sober enough to consider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that some few of the deepest sighted among these reasoners are well enough convinced, how vain all such hopes must be : but for the rest, the wisest of them seem to have been very ill judges of the people's dispositions ; the want of which knowledge was a principal occasion to hasten their ruin ; for surely, had they suspected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run against it by that impeachment. I therefore conclude, they generally are so blind as to imagine some comfort from this fantastical

* Which hope has been the feeble crutch of many a falling ministry.

opinion ; that the people of England are at present distracted, but will shortly come to their senses again.

For the service therefore of our adversaries and friends, I shall briefly examine this point, by showing what are the causes and symptoms of a people's madness ; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is Machiavel's observation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do seldom mistake their true interests ; and indeed they naturally love the constitution they are born under ; never desiring to change, but under great oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several means. It has often happened in Greece, and sometimes in Rome, that those very men who have contributed to shake off a former tyranny, have, instead of restoring the old constitution, deluded the people into a worse and more ignominious slavery. Besides, all great changes have the same effects upon commonwealths that thunder has upon liquors, making the dregs fly up to the top ; the lowest plebeians rise to the head of affairs, and these preserve themselves, by representing the nobles, and other friends to the old government, as enemies to the public. The encouraging of new mysteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, has likewise been a frequent topic to mislead the people. And, not to mention more, the promoting false reports of dangers from abroad has often served to prevent them from fencing against real dangers at home. By these and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt administration, the madness of the people has risen to such a height, as to break in pieces the whole frame of the best instituted governments. But however, such great frenzies, being artificially raised, are a perfect force and constraint

upon human nature ; and under a wise steady prince, will certainly decline of themselves, settling like the sea after a storm ; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern story are full of instances to illustrate what I say.

In our own island we had a great example of a long madness, in the people, kept up by a thousand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the constitution was destroyed ; yet the malignity being spent, and the humour exhausted that served to foment it, before the usurpers could fix upon a new scheme, the people suddenly recovered, and peaceably restored the old constitution.

From what I have offered, it will be easy to decide whether this late change in the disposition of the people was a new madness, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I see how it can be proved, that such a change had, in any circumstance, the least symptom of madness, whether my description of it be right or not. It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the disposition of the people, in the choice of their representatives, is by computing the county elections ; and in these it is manifest, that five in six are entirely for the present measures ; although the court was so far from interposing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other methods used to influence elections. * The free, unextorted

* The truth was, as Swift has told us in his Memoirs relating to the Change of Ministry, that the trial of Sacheverel kindled such a spirit through the country, that ministers saw a large majority of high-church members would be returned without the odium of government's interfering.

addresses, sent some time before from every part of the kingdom, plainly showed what sort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, against the united interest of those two great bodies, the Bank and East India Company, was another convincing argument. Besides, the Whigs themselves have always confessed, that the bulk of landed men in England was generally of Tories. So that this change must be allowed to be according to the natural genius and disposition of the people ; whether it were just and reasonable in itself or not.

Notwithstanding all which, you shall frequently hear the partisans of the late men in power gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present ministry cannot possibly stand. Now they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the last being so far established and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honest men will be able to restore things to their former state ; or else these reasoners have been so misled by twenty years mismanagement, that they have forgot our constitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiser ; and, by the choice they have made, show they do understand our constitution, and would bring it back to the old form ; which, if the new ministers take care to maintain, they will and ought to stand ; otherwise, they may fall like their predecessors. But I think, we may easily foresee what a parliament, freely chosen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man should be in any danger to lose his place by the freedom of his voice.

But, who are the advancers of this opinion, that the

present ministry cannot hold? It must be either such as are afraid to be called to an account in case it should hold, or those who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reasonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; since perhaps it will be necessary to make some changes that the public business of the nation may go on: or lastly, stock-jobbers, who industriously spread such reports, that actions* may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet these hopes, thus freely expressed, as they are more sincere, so they are more supportable, than when they appear under the disguise and pretence of fears. Some of these gentlemen are employed to shake their heads in proper companies; to doubt where all this will end; to be in mighty pain for the nation; to show how impossible it is, that the public credit can be supported; to pray that all may do well, in whatever hands; but very much to doubt, that the Pretender is at the bottom. I know not any thing so nearly resembling this behaviour, as what I have often seen among the friends of a sick man, whose interest it is that he should die. The physicians protest they see no danger, the symptoms are good, the medicines answer expectation; yet still they are not to be comforted; they whisper he is a gone man, it is not possible he should hold out; he has perfect death in his face; they never liked his doctor. At last, the patient recovers, and their joy is as false as their grief.

I believe there is no man so sanguine, who did not apprehend some ill consequences from the late change; though not in any proportion to the good ones: but it is

* *i. e.* Stocks.

manifest, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Those remedies, that stir the humours in a diseased body, are at first more painful than the malady itself; yet certain death is the consequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the loans are said to come in slowly. But, beside that something of this must have been, whether there had been any change or not; beside, that the surprise of every change, for the better as well as the worse, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reason, which is plain and scandalous. When the late party was at the helm, those who were called the Tories never put their resentments in balance with the safety of the nation; but cheerfully contributed to the common cause: now the scene is changed, the fallen party seems to act from very different motives; they have given the word about: they will keep their money, and be passive: and, in this point, stand upon the same foot with Papists and Nonjurors. What would have become of the public, if the present great majority had acted thus during the late administration, before the others were masters of that wealth they have squeezed out of the landed men, and with the strength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance? *

* De Foe, himself a Whig, employs great part of his Review about this period, in conjuring the Whigs not to make the evil of which they complained, by precipitate sales of their stock. But a terror affected by some, and real in others, that the new ministers intended to bring the Chevalier St George, and pay the debt by a sponge, occasioned a great depression of the funds. Indeed, the stock was principally in the possession of persons who had little favour to expect from a House of Commons composed in a great

Thus much I have thought fit to say, without pointing reflections upon any particular person, which I have hitherto but sparingly done, and that only toward those whose characters are too profligate for the managing of them to be of any consequence. Beside, as it is a talent I am not naturally fond of, so, in the subjects I treat, it is generally needless. If I display the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of gross immorality and irreligion; those who are the least conversant in things will easily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of such who charge me with this proceeding: it is notorious enough that the writers of the other side were the first aggressors. Not to mention their scurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular persons, how many papers do now come out every week full of rude invectives against the present ministry, with the first and last letters of their names, to prevent mistakes! It is good sometimes to let these people see that we neither want spirit nor materials to retaliate; and, therefore, in this point alone, I shall follow their example, whenever I find myself sufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, shall be religiously true, founded either upon avowed facts which none can deny, or such as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being resolved publicly to confess any mistakes I have

measure of high-church land-holders, whose loud complaint was, that the monied interest had thriven by a war of which the country gentlemen had borne the chief burden. The system of funding was new, and had been severely censured by Swift, and other Tory writers. In these circumstances, stock-holders might reasonably entertain some apprehension that the national obligation to pay their debts might be declared void and null.

been guilty of, I do hereby humbly desire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers said to be done in the cathedral of Gloucester. A whole Hydra of errors, in two words! For, as I am since informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of Gloucester, but some other church of that diocese. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meanest hands, I should certainly have answered it.

No. XXV.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1710-11.

Διαλεξάμενοι τινα ἡσυχῆ, τὸ μὲν σὺμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν.

Summissa quædam voce collocuti sunt, quorum summa erat de dominatione sibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis, conjuratio.

They meet, they whisper together, and their whole design is to establish themselves in their ill-gotten power upon the ruin of their enemies.

NOT many days ago I observed a knot of discontented gentlemen, cursing the Tories to hell for their uncharitableness in affirming, that if the late ministry had continued to this time, we should have had neither church nor monarchy left. They are usually so candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-house, or over a bottle, from some warm young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to say more than

they believed, by some positions as absurd and ridiculous of their own. And so it proved in this very instance : for, asking one of these gentlemen what it was that provoked those he had been disputing with to advance such a paradox ; he assured me, in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world but that himself, and some others of the company, had made it appear, that the design of the present parliament and ministry was to bring in Popery, arbitrary power, and the Pretender : which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the Whigs : because I defy our adversaries to produce one single reason for suspecting such designs in the persons now at the helm ; whereas I can, upon demand, produce twenty to show, that some late men had strong views toward a commonwealth, and the alteration of the church.

It is natural, indeed, when a storm is over, that has only untiled our houses, and blown down some of our chimneys, to consider what farther mischiefs might have ensued, if it had lasted longer. However, in the present case, I am not of the opinion above mentioned. I believe the church and state might have lasted somewhat longer, although the late enemies to both had done their worst. I can hardly conceive how things would have been so soon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make such large and sudden strides, it must have come to blows ; and according to the computation, we have now reason to think a right one, I can partly guess what would have been the issue. Besides, we are sure the queen would have interposed before they came to extremities ; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

But instead of this question, What would have been

the consequence if the late ministry had continued? I will propose another, which will be more useful for us to consider; and that is, What may we reasonably expect they will do if ever they come into power again? This we know is the design and endeavour of all those scribbles which daily fly about in their favour; of all the false, insolent, and scandalous libels against the present administration, and of all those engines set at work to sink the actions and blow up the public credit. As for those who show their inclinations by writing, there is one consideration, which I wonder does not sometimes affect them: for, how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleness and innocence of those who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an insolent, pragmatrical orator somewhere in Greece, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the state, was answered by one, who had been very instrumental in recovering the liberty of the city, that he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the condition he always wished them in, when every man in that city might securely say what he pleased. I wish these gentlemen would, however, compare the liberty they take, with what their masters used to give; how many messengers and warrants would have gone out against any who durst have opened their lips, or drawn their pens against the persons and proceedings of their juntoes and cabals? How would their weekly writers have been calling out for prosecution and punishment? We remember, when a poor nickname, * borrowed from an old play

* In Dr Sacheverel's famous sermon, he mentioned Godolphin under the nick-name of Volpone; a reflection so galling to that statesman, that, in spite of the remonstrances of Lord Somers, he

of Ben Jonson, and mentioned in a sermon without any particular application, was made use of as a motive to spur on an impeachment. But, after all, it must be confessed, they had reasons to be thus severe, which their successors have not : their faults would never endure the light ; and to have exposed them sooner, would have raised the kingdom against the actors before the proper time.

But, to come to the subject I have now undertaken, which is, to examine what the consequences would be, upon supposition that the Whigs were now restored to their power. I already imagine the present free parliament dissolved, and another of a different epithet met, by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two of stinging votes against the proceedings of the late ministry. The bill * now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birthright of an Englishman reduced again to the value of twelve-pence. But, to give the reader a strong imagination of such a scene, let me represent the designs of some men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

“ Ordered,

“ That a bill be brought in for repealing the sacramental test.

“ A petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, Coward, and Toland, in behalf of themselves and many hundreds of their disciples, some of whom are members of this honourable House ; desiring that leave may be given to

insisted upon the preacher's being proceeded against by impeachment, of which the issue is well known.

* A bill for a general naturalization.

bring in a bill for qualifying Atheists, Deists, and Soci-nians, to serve their country in any employment, ecclesi-astical, civil, or military.

“ Ordered,

“ That leave be given to bring in a bill, according to the prayer of the said petition ; and that Mr Lech-
mere * do prepare and bring in the same.

“ Ordered,

“ That a bill be brought in for removing the educa-
tion of youth out of the hands of the clergy.

“ Another to forbid the clergy preaching certain
duties in religion ; especially obedience to princes.

“ Another to take away the jurisdiction of bishops.

“ Another for constituting a general for life ; with
instructions to the committee, that care may be taken to
make the war last as long as the life of the said general.

“ A bill of attainder against Charles Duke of Shrews-
bury, † John Duke of Buckingham, Laurence Earl of
Rochester, Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight, Robert Harley
and William Shippen, Esqrs., Abigail Masham, spin-
ster, ‡ and others, for high treason against the junto.

“ Resolved,

“ That Sarah Duchess of Marlborough has been a
most dutiful, just, and grateful servant to her majesty.

“ Resolved,

“ That to advise the dissolution of a Whig parliament,

* Nicholas Lechmere was one of the managers against Dr Sa-
cheverel, and summed up the evidence. He was afterwards chan-
cellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and attorney-general, and is the
hero of the ballad entitled, “ Duke upon Duke.”

† Altered afterwards to James Duke of Ormond.

‡ This slip of the pen brought the Examiner under the correc-
tion of his foes, for Abigail Masham was a married woman.

or the removal of a Whig ministry, was in order to bring in Popery and the Pretender ; and that the said advice was high treason.

“ Resolved,

“ That by the original compact, the government of this realm is by a junto, and a king, or queen ; but the administration solely in the junto.

“ Ordered,

“ That a bill be brought in for farther limiting the prerogative.

“ Ordered,

“ That it be a standing order of this House, that the merit of elections be not determined by the number of voices, or right of electors, but by weight ; and that one Whig shall weigh down ten Tories.

“ A motion being made, and the question being put, that when a Whig is detected of manifest bribery, and his competitor, being a Tory, has ten to one a majority, there shall be a new election ; it passed in the negative.

“ Resolved,

“ That for a king or queen of this realm to read, or examine a paper brought them to be signed by a junto minister, is arbitrary and illegal, and a violation of the liberties of the people.”

These, and the like reformations, would, in all probability, be the first fruits of the Whigs resurrection ; and what structures such able artists might in a short time build upon such foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a peace cut off ; the nation industriously involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but those whose in-

terest lay in ruining the constitution ; I do not see how the wisest prince, under such necessities, could be able to extricate himself. Then as to the church ; the bishops would by degrees be dismissed, first from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at last from their office ; and the clergy, instead of their idle claim of independency on the state, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what system of future government was designed ; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I shall not now examine. Only upon this occasion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myself. There was a picture drawn some time ago, representing five persons, as large as the life, sitting in council together, like a pentarchy ; a void space was left for the sixth, which was to have been the queen, to whom they intended that honour ; but her majesty having since fallen under their displeasure, they have made a shift to crowd in two better friends in her place, which makes it a complete heptarchy.* This piece is now in the country, reserved until better times ; and hangs in the hall among the pictures of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and some other predecessors.

I must now desire leave to say something to a gentleman who has been pleased to publish a discourse against a paper of mine, relating to the convocation. He promises to set me right without any undue reflections, or indecent language. I suppose he means, in comparison

* The seven leaders of the opposition, here and elsewhere alluded to, were Marlborough, Godolphin, Somers, Cowper, Sunderland, Boyle, and Walpole.

with others who pretend to answer the Examiner. So far he is right ; but, if he thinks he has behaved himself as becomes a candid antagonist, I believe he is mistaken. He says in his title-page, my representations are unfair, and my reflections unjust : and his conclusion is yet more severe ; where he doubts I and my friends are enraged against the Dutch, because they preserved us from Popery and arbitrary power at the Revolution ; and since that time, from being overrun by the exorbitant power of France, and becoming a prey to the Pretender. Because this author seems in general to write with an honest meaning, I would seriously put to him the question, Whether he thinks I and my friends are for Popery, arbitrary power, France, and the Pretender ? I omit other instances of smaller moment, which, however, do not suit in my opinion with due reflection, or decent language. The fact relating to the convocation came from a good hand ; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumstance about it. My reflections were no more than what might be obvious to any other gentleman who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right which this author gives us of a Lower House of Convocation, it is a very melancholy one ; and to me seems utterly inconsistent with that of a body of men, whom he owns to have a negative ; and, therefore, since a great majority of the clergy differs from him in several points he advances, I shall rather choose to be of their opinion than his.* I fancy when the whole synod

* Swift had, in the EXAMINER, No. 21, given some account of the opening of the Convocation, which was taxed by the Whigs as inaccurate in the following particulars. First, Because the Upper House did not send the address and letter to the Lower House, as there stated, but read the letter to the prolocutor, and

met in one house, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their bishops ; and, therefore, whether this treatment, so extremely *de haut en bas*, since their exclusion, be suitable to primitive custom or primitive humility toward brethren, is not my business to inquire. One may allow the divine or apostolic right of episcopacy, and its great superiority over presbyters, and yet dispute the methods of exercising the latter, which, being of human institution, are subject to encroachments and usurpations. I know every clergyman in a diocese has a great deal of dependence upon his bishop, and owes him canonical obedience : but I was apt to think, that when the whole representative of the clergy met in a synod, they were considered in another light ; at least since they are allowed to have a negative. If I am mistaken, I desire to be excused, as talking out of my trade ; only there is one thing, wherein I entirely differ from this author : since, in the disputes about privileges, one side must recede ; where so very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the encroachments are not on the inferior clergy's side ; and no man can blame them for insisting on the small number that is left. There is one fact, wherein I must take occasion to set

retaining it as directed to the archbishop, sent down the draught of their address without it. Second, That the excuse for not noticing the letter in the address was made to the prolocutor *viva voce*, and not sent to the Lower House in the form of a message. Third, That the Lower House did not return to the Upper the letter and address, but the address alone. It is obvious, that these and other verbal cavils leave the general truth of the Examiner's statement unimpeached. The rest of this Number is occupied in discussing the respective privileges of the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation.

this author right : that the person, * who first moved the queen to remit the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was an eminent instrument in the late turn of affairs ; and, I am told, has lately prevailed to have the same favour granted for the clergy of Ireland. †

But I must beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controversy ; which would be of very little import to most readers, and only mispend time, that I would gladly employ to better purposes. For where it is a man's business to entertain a whole roomfull, it is unmannerly to apply himself to a particular person, and turn his back upon the rest of the company.

No. XXVI.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1710-11.

Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum : quæ cum optimi cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis, testimonio comprobatur.

That is real honour and true praise for glorious actions to a meritorious state, when they gain the commendation and esteem of the great, and, at the same time, the love and approbation of the common people.

I AM thinking what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a ruined cause. I remember a

* Earl of Oxford, lord-treasurer.

† This was done by the mediation of Swift himself.

fanatic preacher, who was inclined to come into the church and take orders ; but, upon mature thoughts, was diverted from that design, when he considered, that the collections of the godly were a much heartier and readier penny than he could get by wrangling for tithes. He certainly had reason ; and the two cases are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a necessary person : you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at those who hold the pen on the other side ; you are sure to be celebrated and caressed by all your party, to a man : you may affirm and deny what you please without truth or probability, since it is but loss of time to contradict you. Besides, commiseration is often on your side ; and you have a pretence to be thought honest and disinterested for adhering to friends in distress : after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a strong fund of merit toward making your fortune. Then, you never fail to be well furnished with materials, every one bringing in his quota, and falsehood being naturally more plentiful than truth : not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power, and hugging yourself in a corner with mighty satisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwise with us, who engage as volunteers in the service of a flourishing ministry, in full credit with the queen, and beloved by the people ; because they have no sinister ends or dangerous designs, but pursue with steadiness and resolution the true interest of both. Upon which account, they little want or desire our assistance ; and we may write till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed, either to a place or a pension : besides, we are refused the common

benefit of the party, to have our works cried up of course ; the readers of our own side being as ungentle and hard to please as if we writ against them : and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The design of their labours who write on the conquered side is likewise of greater importance than ours : they are like cordials for dying men, which must be repeated ; whereas ours are, in the Scripture phrase, but meat for babes : at least, all I can pretend is, to undeceive the ignorant, and those at a distance ; but their task is to keep up the sinking spirits of a whole party.

After such reflections, I cannot be angry with those gentlemen for perpetually writing against me ; it furnishes them largely with topics, and is, besides, their proper business ; neither is it affectation, or altogether scorn, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act suitable to our several provinces ; mine is, by laying open some corruptions in the late management, to set those that are ignorant right in their opinions of persons and things : it is theirs to cover with fig-leaves all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance ; it is their office to deny, and disprove ; and then let the world decide. If I were as they, my chief endeavour should certainly be to batter down the Examiner ; therefore I cannot but approve their design. Besides, they have another reason for barking incessantly at this paper : they have in their prints openly taxed a most ingenious person as author of it ; one who is in great and very deserved reputation with the world, both on account of his poetical works,

and his talents for public business.* They were wise enough to consider what a sanction it would give their performances to fall under the animadversion of such a pen ; and, therefore, used all the forms of provocation commonly practised by little obscure pedants, who are fond of distinguishing themselves by the fame of an adversary. So nice a taste have these judicious critics in pretending to discover an author by his style and manner of thinking ! not to mention the justice and candour of exhausting all the stale topics of scurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one who is entirely innocent ; and whose greatest fault, perhaps, is too much gentleness toward a party, from whose leaders he has received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the ease and reputation of so deserving a gentleman has at length forced me, much against my interest and inclination, to let these angry people know, who is not the author of the Examiner. For I observed the opinion began to spread, and I chose rather to sacrifice the honour I received by it, than let injudicious people entitle him to a performance that, perhaps, he might have reason to be ashamed of : still faithfully promising never to disturb those worthy advocates, but suffer them in quiet to roar on at the Examiner, if they or their party find any ease in it ; as physicians say there is to people in torment, such as men in the gout, or women in labour.

* Matthew Prior was generally suspected to be the author of the Examiner. He had, indeed, written several of the first papers, and borne the brunt of the battle against the Whig Examiners of Addison.

However, I must acknowledge myself indebted to them for one hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the late ministry, I have seen many papers filled with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of those who write the lives of famous men, where, after their deaths, immediately follow their characters. When I saw the poor virtues thus dealt at random, I thought the disposers had flung their names, like valentines, into a hat, to be drawn as fortune pleased, by the junto and their friends. There Crassus * drew liberty and gratitude; Fulvia, † humility and gentleness; Clodius, ‡ piety and justice; Gracchus, § loyalty to his prince; Cinna, || love of his country and constitution; and so of the rest. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often seen, of late, the whole set of discarded statesmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings, for those very qualities, which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did these heroes put off and lock up their virtues when they came into employment; and have they now resumed them since their dismissions? If they wore them, I am sure it was under their greatness, and without ever once convincing the world of their visibility or influence.

But, why should not the present ministry find a pen to praise them, as well as the last? This is what I shall now undertake; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. I have, with-

* Marlborough.

† Duchess of Marlborough.

‡ Wharton, whose profligacy was notorious.

§ Probably Godolphin.

|| Cowper, perhaps.

out being called, served them half a year in quality of champion ; and, by help of the queen, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them against a routed cabal of hated politicians, with a dozen of scribblers at their head : yet, so far have they been from rewarding me suitably to my deserts, that to this day they never so much as sent to the printer to inquire who I was ; although I have known a time and ministry, where a person of half my merit and consideration would have had fifty promises ; and, in the meantime, a pension settled on him, whereof the first quarter should be honestly paid. Therefore, my resentments shall so far prevail, that in praising those who are now at the head of affairs, I shall, at the same time, take notice of their defects.

Was any man more eminent in his profession than the present lord-keeper, * or more distinguished by his eloquence and great abilities in the House of Commons ? and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great station he now adorns ? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative, as well as practical part of polygamy ; † he knows not how to metamorphose a sober man into a lunatic ; ‡ he is no

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Lord Harcourt, became lord-keeper upon the resignation of the Lord Chancellor Cowper.

† See Nos. 17 and 22.

‡ Alluding to a commission of idiocy granted in 1709 against Richard, fifth Viscount Wenman. This unfortunate nobleman was under the management of Francis Wroughton, Esq. his father-in-law, and of Miss Wroughton, his sister, whom he married. He was sued by his brothers-in-law for payment of his sisters' portions, who further demanded, that, in consideration of Lord Wenman's imbecility, his estate might be put under the management

freethinker in religion, nor has courage to be patron of an atheistical book, while he is guardian of the queen's conscience. Although, after all, to speak my private opinion, I cannot think these such mighty objections to his character as some would pretend.

The person who now presides at the council * is descended from a great and honourable father, not from the dregs of the people ; he was at the head of the treasury for some years, and rather chose to enrich his prince than himself. In the height of favour and credit, he sacrificed the greatest employment in the kingdom to his conscience and honour ; he has been always firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for supporting the prerogative of the crown, and preserving the liberties of the people. But then his best friends must own, that he is neither Deist nor Socinian ; he has never conversed with Toland to open and enlarge his thoughts, and dispel the prejudices of education ; nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, to ruin and imprison the husband, in order to keep the wife without disturbance. †

of trustees. The matter, as the most unlikely things often do, became a party question ; and, as it was finally decided against Lord Wenman by Chancellor Cowper, is the foundation of the sarcasm in the text.—See the *Additional Notes to Tatler*, Vol. II. p. 366, edit. 1786.

* Laurence Hyde, late Earl of Rochester, in the room of Lord Somers, whose low birth and freethinking principles are here sneered at.

† Mrs Manley, in a Supplement to the *New Atalantes*, entitled, "The Memoirs of Europe towards the Close of the Eighth Century," thus enlarges on the intrigue laid to the charge of the celebrated Lord Somers : "Cicero himself, (Somers,) an oracle of wisdom, was whirled about by his lusts at the pleasure of a fantastic

The present lord-steward has been always distinguished for his wit and knowledge ; is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs ; has continued constant to the true interest of the nation, which he espoused from the

worn-out mistress. He prostituted his inimitable sense, reason, and good nature, either to revenge or reward, as her caprice directed ; and what made this commerce more detestable, this mistress of his was a wife ! Impious excess ! Abominable adultery ! Were there not enough of the frail race unmarried ? Had not Sergius's (Wharton's) immemorial assiduities corrupted enough of that order, but this patrician, this director of nations and imperial assemblies, must bring his pollutions to defile the marriage bed, and corrupt a wife ? nay, which is more execrable, the wife of a friend. Was it not a good comedy, or rather a farce, when you beheld this sententious man, this decisive orator, who, by the enchantments of his persuasion, left not even destiny to herself, for fate and fortune were, whenever he spoke, his slaves—to see this great, this stupendous man, that could enchant an empire with the music of his voice, skulking in the obscene habit of a slave, hiding his face in an abject robe, as if that could conceal his vices ; waiting at a back door to get undiscovered entrance into his own palace, after passing the guilty night in adultery with an infamous prostitute ; and this not for once or twice, but for months and years, till his sin was become as confirmed a habit as his hypocrisy ! The poor husband, distracted with his wrongs, grows incapable of following the necessary duties of his calling, by which neglect his maintenance fell, and he drank the bitter draught of poverty ; the adulterers rioting in all the luxuries of the east ; shifting abodes in scandalous bye-corners from place to place, for fear the cuckold's prerogative should seize upon the ornaments and riches of his wife as lawful spoil ; which, when he was so lucky as to do, the vindictive patrician interposed with a thorough revenge, first casting him into a loathsome prison, where, when he had sufficiently languished, a warrant was produced to the gaoler to deliver his prisoner to some persons, who receiving him into their custody, disposed of him in such sort, that to this day he has never been heard of. Let the idolaters (Whigs) consider how much they ought to pride themselves in the morality, religion, and virtue, of this atlas of their empire.”

beginning ; and is every way qualified to support the dignity of his office : but, in point of oratory, must give place to his predecessor.*

The Duke of Shrewsbury † was highly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution, in which service he freely exposed his life and fortune. He has ever been the favourite of the nation, being possessed of all the amiable qualities that can accomplish a great man ; but, in the agreeableness and fragranciness of his person, and the profoundness of his politics, must be allowed to fall very short of —

Mr Harley ‡ had the honour of being chosen speaker successively to three parliaments. He was the first, of late years, who ventured to restore the forgotten custom of treating his prince with duty and respect ; easy and disengaged in private conversation, with such a weight of affairs upon his shoulders ; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it ; intrepid by nature, as well as by the consciousness of his own integrity ; and a despiser of money, pursuing the true interest of his prince and country against all obstacles ; sagacious to view into the remotest consequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him ; a firm friend, and a plausible enemy, sacrificing his justest resentments, not only to public good, but to common intercession and acknowledgment. Yet, with all these virtues, it must be grant-

* John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, in the room of the Duke of Devonshire. This last nobleman was a worthy and accomplished man, but it would seem no orator.

† Lord Chamberlain, in the room of Henry de Grey, Earl, and successively Marquis and Duke of Kent.

‡ Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the removal of Lord Godolphin.

ed there is some mixture of human infirmity. His greatest admirers must confess his skill at cards and dice to be very low and superficial : in horse-racing he is utterly ignorant ; then, to save a few millions to the public, he never regards how many worthy citizens he hinders from making up their plumb.* And surely there is one thing never to be forgiven him, that he delights to have his table filled with black coats, whom he uses as if they were gentlemen.

My Lord Dartmouth † is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour ; of strict virtue and regularity in his life ; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners than others in his station have done the queen.

Omitting some others, I shall close this character of the present ministry with that of Mr St John ; ‡ who, from his youth, applying those admirable talents of nature, and improvements of art, to public business, grew eminent in court and parliament, at an age when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he has not yet procured himself a busy, important countenance ; nor learned that

* Lord Godolphin was fond of gaming and horse-racing. Hence, in the satire called *Sid Hamet's Rod*, Swift exhorts him to cut his staff of office into a Newmarket switch. It seems to be here insinuated, that his mode of managing the funds gave undue advantages to the creditors of the public.

† He succeeded the Earl of Sunderland as secretary of state. His predecessor, like most of the Marlborough family, to which he was allied by marrying one of the duke's daughters, had endeavoured rather to compel than to solicit the queen's compliance with their measures.

‡ Secretary of State, in the room of Mr Henry Boyle.

profound part of wisdom, to be difficult of access. Besides, he has clearly mistaken the true use of books, which he has thumbed and spoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his shelves: not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back, better than a friend by the face; although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.

No. XXVII.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1710-11.

Caput est in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima suspicio.

In every employment, in every public office, it is of the utmost importance to keep free from even the least suspicion of avarice. *

THERE is no vice which mankind carries to such wild extremes as that of avarice. Those two which seem to rival it in this point are lust and ambition; but the former is checked by difficulties and diseases, destroys itself by its own pursuits, and usually declines with old age; and the latter requiring courage, conduct, and fortune in a high degree, and meeting with a thousand

* This extremely severe paper relates entirely to that great blemish in the character of Marlborough, his insatiable thirst for money.

dangers and oppositions, succeeds too seldom in an age to fall under common observation. Or, avarice is perhaps the same passion with ambition; only placed in more ignoble and dastardly minds, by which the object is changed from power to money. Or it may be that one man pursues power in order to wealth; and another wealth, in order to power; which last is the safer way, although longer about; and suiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this passion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The stage, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very short in the representations of avarice; nor are there any extravagancies of this kind described by ancient or modern comedies, which are not outdone by a hundred instances commonly told among ourselves.

I am ready to conclude hence, that a vice which keeps so firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with so unlimited a tyranny, since it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought at least to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never suffered to prey upon the public; and should certainly be rejected as the most unqualifying circumstance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can possibly enter.

If the mischiefs of this vice in a public station were confined to enriching only those particular persons employed, the evil would be more supportable: but it is usually quite otherwise. When a steward defrauds his lord, he must connive at the rest of the servants, while

they are following the same practice in their several spheres : so that in some families you may observe a subordination of knaves, in a link downward to the very helper in the stables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the master could bear it without being undone ; but it so happens, that for every shilling the servant gets by iniquity, the master loses twenty ; the perquisites of servants being but small compositions for suffering shopkeepers to bring in what bills they please. It is exactly the same thing in a state : an avaricious man in office is in confederacy with the whole clan of his district or dependence : which, in modern terms of art, is called to live and let live ; and yet their gains are the smallest part of the public's loss. Give a guinea to a knavish land-waiter, and he shall connive at the merchant for cheating the queen of a hundred. A brewer gives a bribe to have the privilege of selling drink to the navy ; but the fraud is a hundred times greater than the bribe, and the public is at the whole loss. *

Moralists make two kinds of avarice ; that of *Cataline*, *alieni appetens*, *sui profusus* ; and the other more generally understood by that name, which is the endless desire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more

* The Examiner is here, to use a sportsman's phrase, *drawing upon* a noted point of accusation against Marlborough, his having received an annual present of between L. 5000 and L. 6000 from Sir Solomon Médina, who contracted to supply bread to the army. The duke, when this was brought forward, could only allege in his defence, that it was "a perquisite always allowed to the general or commander-in-chief in the Low Countries, both before the Revolution and since." The sums thus received by his grace amounted to no less than L. 63,309 : 3 : 7.

dangerous in a state, because it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot ; for, although the same breast may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them ; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not, in my opinion, much to be apprehended from ambition. The disgrace of that sordid vice is sooner apt to spread than any other ; and is always attended with the hatred and scorn of the people : so that whenever those two passions happen to meet in the same subject, it is not unlikely that Providence has placed avarice to be a check upon ambition ; and I have reason to think, some great ministers of state have been of my opinion.

The divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philosophers, the lashes and ridicule of satirical poets, have been all employed in exploding this insatiable thirst of money ; and all equally controlled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing new remains to be said upon the occasion ; and if there did, I must remember my character, that I am an Examiner only, and not a Reformer.

However, in those cases where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, such as a prime minister of state, or a great general of an army, methinks there should be some expedient contrived to let them know impartially what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompassed with a crowd of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults, than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuse. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly lost, or returned with hatred : and whatever appears in public against their prevailing vice goes for nothing : being either not applied, or passing only for

libel and slander, proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have sometimes thought, that if I had lived at Rome in the time of the first triumvirate, I should have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to those three great men who had then usurped the sovereign power ; wherein I would freely and sincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was most odious, and of worst consequence to the commonwealth. That to Crassus should have been sent to him after his conquests in Mesopotamia, and in the following terms :

“ To Marcus Crassus, health.

“ If you apply, as you ought, what I now write, you will be more obliged to me than to all the world, hardly excepting your parents or your country. I intend to tell you, without disguise or prejudice, the opinion which the world has entertained of you ; and to let you see I write this without any sort of ill will, you shall first hear the sentiments they have to your advantage. No man disputes the gracefulness of your person ; you are allowed to have a good and clear understanding, cultivated by the knowledge of men and manners, although not by literature ; you are no ill orator in the senate ; you are said to excel in the art of bridling and subduing your anger, and stifling or concealing your resentments ; you have been a most successful general, of long experience, great conduct, and much personal courage ; you have gained many important victories for the commonwealth, and forced the strongest towns in Mesopotamia to surrender, for which frequent supplications have been decreed by the senate. Yet, with all these qualities, and this merit, give me leave to say, you are neither beloved

by the patricians nor plebeians at home, nor by the officers or private soldiers of your own army abroad. And do you know, Crassus, that this is owing to a fault of which you may cure yourself by one minute's reflection? What shall I say? You are the richest person in the commonwealth; you have no male child; your daughters are all married to wealthy patricians; you are far in the decline of life, and yet you are deeply stained with that odious and ignoble vice of covetousness. It is affirmed, that you descend even to the meanest and most scandalous degrees of it; and while you possess so many millions, while you are daily acquiring so many more, you are solicitous how to save a single sesterce; of which a hundred ignominious instances are produced, and in all men's mouths. I will only mention that passage of the buskins,* which, after abundance of persuasion, you would hardly suffer to be cut from your legs, when they were so wet and cold, that to have kept them on would have endangered your life.

Instead of using the common arguments to dissuade you from this weakness, I will endeavour to convince you that you are really guilty of it; and leave the cure to your own good sense. For perhaps you are not yet persuaded that this is your crime; you have probably never yet been reproached for it to your face; and what you are now told comes from one unknown, and it may

* I am ignorant of this anecdote of the Duke of Marlborough's wet boots. But it is somewhere given as an instance of his parsimony, that on the evening before the battle of Blenheim, while he was adjusting the plan of that memorable fight with Prince Eugene, he observed, that his attendants had placed two wax-lights on the table in his tent, and, very composedly, extinguished one of them.

be from an enemy. You will allow yourself indeed to be prudent in the management of your fortune ; you are not a prodigal, like Clodius, or Cataline ; but surely that deserves not the name of avarice. I will inform you how to be convinced. Disguise your person, go among the common people in Rome, introduce discourses about yourself, inquire your own character ; do the same in your camp ; walk about in the evening, hearken at every tent ; and if you do not hear every mouth censuring, lamenting, cursing this vice in you, and even you for this vice, conclude yourself innocent. If you be not yet persuaded, send for Atticus, Servius Sulpicius, Cato, or Brutus ; they are all your friends ; conjure them to tell you ingenuously which is your great fault, and which they would chiefly wish you to correct ; if they do not agree in their verdict, in the name of all the gods you are acquitted.

When your adversaries reflect how far you are gone in this vice, they are tempted to talk as if we owed our successes not to your courage or conduct, but to those veteran troops you command, who are able to conquer under any general, with so many brave and experienced officers to lead them. Besides, we know the consequences your avarice has often occasioned. The soldier has been starving for bread, surrounded with plenty, and in an enemy's country ; but all under safeguards and contributions ; which, if you had sometimes pleased to have exchanged for provisions, might, at the expence of a few talents in a campaign, have so endeared you to the army, that they would have desired you to lead them to the utmost limits of Asia. But you rather choose to confine your conquests within the fruitful country of Mesopotamia, where plenty of money might be raised. How far that fatal greediness of gold may have influenced you,

in breaking off the treaty with the old Parthian King Orodes, * you best can tell ; your enemies charge you with it ; your friends offer nothing material in your defence ; and all agree, there is nothing so pernicious which the extremes of avarice may not be able to inspire.

The moment you quit this vice you will be a truly great man ; and still there will imperfections enough remain to convince us you are not a god. Farewell.”

Perhaps a letter of this nature, sent to so reasonable a man as Crassus, might have put him upon examining into himself, and correcting that little sordid appetite, so utterly inconsistent with all pretences to heroism. A youth, in the heat of blood, may plead, with some show of reason, that he is not able to subdue his lusts. An ambitious man may use the same arguments for his love of power ; or perhaps other arguments to justify it. But excess of avarice has neither of these pleas to offer ; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuse. Whence can the temptation come ? Reason disclaims it altogether ; and it cannot be said to lodge in the blood or the animal spirits. So that I conclude, no man of true valour, and true understanding, upon whom this vice has stolen unawares, when he is convinced he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his breast an hour.

* Alluding to the treaty at Gertruydenberg.

No. XXVIII.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1710-11.

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia ?

Shall you Cotytto's feasts deride,
Yet safely triumph in your pride ?

[In answer to the Letter to the Examiner.]

SIR,

London, Feb. 15, 1710-11.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted leisure to acknowledge the honour of a letter you were pleased to write to me about six months ago;* yet I have been very careful in obeying some of your commands, and am going on as fast as I can with the rest. I wish you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the printing-house: for, although I was pleased with a pattern of style and spirit which I proposed to imitate, yet I was sorry the world should be a witness how far I fell short in both.

I am afraid you did not consider what an abundance of work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the promise you are so kind to make, that when I have performed my task, "D——n shall blush

* A letter to the Examiner, which occurs in the beginning of the work, before Swift had taken the management of it. It was written by Henry St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, and pointed out the objects to which the Examiner's attention should be directed.

in his grave among the dead, Walpole among the living, and even Volpone shall feel some remorse." How the gentleman in his grave may have kept his countenance, I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the sexton ; but for the other two, I take leave to assure you, there have not yet appeared the least signs of blushing or remorse in either, although some very good opportunities have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them ; so that, with your permission, I would rather engage to continue this work until they be in their graves too ; which I am sure will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect some of those indignities offered last year to her majesty. I am ready to oblige you ; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publish by itself in a large volume in folio, or scatter them here and there occasionally in my papers ; although, indeed, I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether ; because such a history will be apt to give foreigners a monstrous opinion of our country. But since it is your absolute opinion, that the world should be informed, I will, with the first occasion, pick out a few choice instances, and let them take their chance in the ensuing papers. I have likewise in my cabinet certain quires of paper, filled with facts of corruption, mismanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like ; with an alphabetical table to save trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be so well provided, when you consider the vast expence I am at. I feed weekly two or three wistarved writers, who have no visible support ; besides several others who live upon my offals. In short, I am like a nurse who suckles twins at one time ; and has

besides one or two whelps constantly to draw her breasts.

I must needs confess, (and it is with grief I speak it,) that I have been the innocent cause of a great circulation of dulness ; at the same time, I have often wondered how it has come to pass, that these industrious people, after poring so constantly upon the Examiner, a paper writ with plain sense, and in a tolerable style, have made so little improvement. I am sure it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me ; for, by what I have seen of their performances, (and I am credibly informed they are all of a piece,) if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the same cause.

You, sir, perhaps will wonder, as most others do, what end these angry folks propose in writing perpetually against the Examiner : it is not to beget a better opinion of the late ministry, or with any hope to convince the world that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate ; they know all that to be lost labour, and yet their design is important enough ; they would fain provoke me, by all sorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to answer their papers ; which would render mine wholly useless to the public ; for, if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we should be all upon a level ; and then their work would be done.

There is one gentleman,* indeed, who has written three small pamphlets upon the management of the war, and the treaty of peace. These I had intended to have bestowed a paper in examining ; and could easily have

* Dr Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, published four several tracts on the management of the war, under the title of "Letters to a Tory."

made it appear, that whatever he says of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controls one syllable of what I have ever advanced. Nobody, that I know of, did ever dispute the Duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so, in spite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the weakness of his advocates. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late ministry, the shameful mismanagements in Spain, or the wrong steps in the treaty of peace; the secret of which will not bear the light, and is consequently by this author very poorly defended? These, and many other things, I would have shown; but, upon second thoughts, determined to have it done in a discourse by itself, rather than take up room here, and break into the design of this paper, whence I have resolved to banish controversy as much as possible. But the postscript to his third pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having any dealings at all with such a writer; unless that part was left to some footman he has picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whose character it would suit much better than that of the supposed author: at least, the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the gross perverting of an innocent expression in the fourth Examiner, joined to that respect I shall ever have for the function of a divine, would incline me to believe so. But, when he turns off his footman, and disclaims that postscript, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

But, sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one side by the Whigs, for being too severe;

and by the Tories on the other, for being too gentle. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this; but, having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better represent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men of both sides have of my conduct, than to send you a transcript of each. The former is exactly in these words :

“ To the Examiner.

“ MR EXAMINER,

“ By your continual reflecting upon the conduct of the late ministry, and by your encomiums on the present, it is as clear as the sun at noon day, that you are a Jesuit, or Nonjuror, employed by the friends of the Pretender, to endeavour to introduce Popery, and slavery, and arbitrary power, and to infringe the sacred act for toleration of dissenters. Now, sir, since the most ingenious authors, who write weekly against you, are not able to teach you better manners, I would have you to know, that those great and excellent men, as low as you think them at present, do not want friends that will take the first proper occasion to cut your throat, as all such enemies to moderation ought to be served. It is well you have cleared another person from being author of your cursed libels; although, d—n me, perhaps after all, that may be a bamboozle too. However, I hope we shall soon ferret you out. Therefore I advise you as a friend to let fall your pen, and retire by times; for our patience is now at an end. It is enough to lose our power and employments, without setting the whole nation against us. Consider, three years is the life of a party; d—n me, every dog has his day, and it will be our turn next; therefore take warning, and learn to sleep in a whole skin;

or, whenever we are uppermost, by G—d you shall find no mercy.”

The other letter was in the following terms :

“ To the Examiner.

“ SIR,

“ I am a country member, and constantly send a dozen of your papers down to my electors. I have read them all, but, I confess, not with the satisfaction I expected. It is plain you know a great deal more than you write ; why will you not let us have it all out ? We are told, that the queen has been a long time treated with insolence, by those she has most obliged. Pray, sir, let us have a few good stories upon that head. We have been cheated of several millions ; why will you not set a mark on the knaves who are guilty, and show us what ways they took to rob the public at such a rate ? inform us how we came to be disappointed of peace about two years ago. In short, turn the whole mystery of iniquity inside out, that every body may have a view of it. But, above all, explain to us what was the bottom of that same impeachment ; I am sure I never liked it ; for at that very time a dissenting preacher in our neighbourhood came often to see our parson ; it could be for no good, for he would walk about the barns and the stables, and desired to look into the church, as who should say, These will shortly be mine : and we all believed he was then contriving some alterations, against he got into possession. And I shall never forget, that a Whig justice offered me then very high for my bishop's lease. I must be so bold to tell you, sir, that you are too favourable ; I am sure there was no living in quiet for us, while they were in the saddle. I was turned out

of the commission, and called a Jacobite, although it cost me a thousand pounds in joining with the Prince of Orange at the Revolution. The discoveries I would have you make, are of some facts, for which they ought to be hanged ; not that I value their heads, but I would see them exposed, which may be done upon the owner's shoulders as well as upon a pole," &c.

These, sir, are the sentiments of a whole party on one side, and of considerable numbers on the other : however, taking the *medium* between these extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done, although I am sensible my paper would be more popular, if I did not lean too much on the favourable side. For nothing delights the people more than to see their oppressors humbled, and all their actions painted with proper colours, set out in open view ; *exactos tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus*.

But as for the Whigs, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty concern they show for the honour of the late ministry may not be affected ; at least, whether their masters will thank them for their zeal in such a cause. It is, I think, a known story of a gentleman, who fought another for calling him a son of a whore, that the lady desired her son to make no more quarrels upon that subject, because it was true. For pray, sir, does it not look like a jest, that such a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and discovering the most destructive designs against our church and state, instead of thanking fortune that they are got off safe in their persons and plunder, should hire these bullies of the pen to defend their reputations ? I remember I thought it the hardest case in the world, when a poor acquaint-

ance of mine, having fallen in among sharpers, where he lost all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain, for offering to affront gentlemen. I believe the only reason why these purloiners of the public cause such a clutter to be made about their reputations is, to prevent inquisitions that might tend toward making them refund ; like those women they call shoplifters, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted, for fear of being searched.

I will dismiss you, sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have observed in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the Earl of Rochester is frequently reflected on, for having been ecclesiastical commissioner, and lord-treasurer, in the reign of the late King James. The fact is true ; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that, because he could not comply with the measures then taking, he resigned both those employments ; of which the latter was immediately supplied by a commission, composed of two popish lords, and the present Earl of Godolphin.*

* This malicious insinuation being incontrovertible in point of its general truth, gave great uneasiness to the Whiggish papers. The Medley could only reply, that the Examiner might have said with as much truth, that Lord Rochester's place in the commission was supplied by Lord Godolphin, and two Protestant knights, Sir Stephen Fox and Sir John Ernle.

No. XXIX.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1710-11.

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se prætulisse aliis propter abundantiam fortunæ.

In the goods of fortune it is the highest commendation to say that he was not elated in power, insolent in riches, or contemptuous amid the overflowing of fortune.

I AM conscious to myself, that I write this paper with no other intention but of doing good. I never received injury from the late ministry, nor advantage from the present, farther than in common with every good subject. There were among the former one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable qualities; but, proceeding by a system of politics which our constitution could not suffer, and discovering a contempt of all religion, especially of that which has been so happily established among us ever since the Reformation; they seem to have been justly suspected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is possible, that a man may speculatively prefer the constitution of another country, or a Utopia of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet, from considering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impossibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present order of things, and be a true friend to the government already settled. So in reli-

gion, a man may perhaps have little or none of it at heart ; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no proselytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or discourse ; if, according to the common atheistical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe, and that the present model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an end ; although the condition of such a man, as to his own future state, be very deplorable ; yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even such a man an instrument for contributing toward the preservation of the church.

On the other side ; I take a state to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and government, when a set of ambitious politicians, bred up in hatred to the constitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting these qualities, in order to keep or increase their power, by widening their bottom, and taking in (like Mahomet) some principles from every party, that is in any way discontented at the present faith and settlement ; which was manifestly our case. Upon this occasion, I remember to have asked some considerable Whigs, whether it did not bring a disreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of Presbyterians, Independents, Atheists, Anabaptists, Deists, Quakers, and Socinians, openly and universally listed under their banners ? They answered, that all this was absolutely necessary, in order to make a balance against the Tories ; and all little enough : for, indeed, it was as much as they could possibly do, although assisted with the absolute power of disposing of every employment ; while the bulk of the English gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and state.

But notwithstanding what I have hitherto said, I am informed, several among the Whigs continue still so refractory, that they will hardly allow the heads of their party to have entertained any designs of ruining the constitution ; or that they would have endeavoured it if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have discovered a secret ; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be one, after those overt acts with which they thought fit to conclude their farce ? But, perhaps, they now find it convenient to deny vigorously ; that the question may remain, why was the old ministry changed, which they urge on without ceasing, as if no occasion in the least had been given ; but that all were owing to the insinuations of crafty men, practising upon the weakness of an easy prince : I shall therefore offer, among a hundred, one reason for this change, which I think would justify any monarch, who ever reigned, for the like proceeding.

It is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed in the histories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their minions ; who have been ever justly odious to the people for their insolence and avarice, and engrossing the favours of their masters. Whoever has been the least conversant in the English story, cannot but have heard of Gaveston, the Spensers, and the Earl of Oxford ; who, by the excess and abuse of their power, cost the princes they served, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the case of minions, it must at least be acknowledged, that the prince is pleased and happy, although his subjects be aggrieved ; and he has the plea of friendship to excuse him, which is a disposition of generous minds. Besides, a wise minion, although he be haughty to others, is

humble and insinuating to his master, and cultivates his favour by obedience and respect. But our misfortune has been a great deal worse ; we have suffered for some years under the oppression, the avarice, and insolence of those, for whom the queen had neither esteem nor friendship ; who rather seemed to snatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their sovereign ; and were so far from returning respect, that they forgot common good manners. They imposed on their prince, by urging the necessity of affairs of their own creating : they first raised difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themselves in power. They united themselves, against nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full possession of the court : then they urged the formidable strength of that party, and the dangers which must follow by disobliging it. So that it seems almost a miracle how a princess, thus besieged on all sides, could alone have courage and prudence enough to extricate herself.

And, indeed, there is a point of history relating to this matter, which well deserves to be considered. When her majesty came to the crown, she took into favour and employment several persons, who were esteemed the best friends of the old constitution ; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the high church principles (as they are usually called) than two or three who had at that time most credit ; and ever since, until within these few months, possessed all power at court. * So that the first umbrage given to the

* Queen Anne, according to the Duchess of Marlborough's ac-

Whigs, and the pretences for clamouring against France and the Pretender, were derived from them. And I believe nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that such different opinions should ever incorporate; that party having, upon former occasions, treated those very persons with enmity enough. But some lords then about court, and in the queen's good graces, not able to endure those growing impositions upon the prince and people, presumed to interpose; and were consequently soon removed and disgraced. However, when a most exorbitant grant was proposed, antecedent to any visible merit, it miscarried in parliament, for want of being seconded by those who had most credit in the House; and who, having always opposed the like excesses in a former reign, thought it their duty to do so still, to show to the world that the dislike was not against persons, but things.* But this was to cross the oligarchy

count, had a strong bias to high church principles, and an unconquerable prejudice against the Whigs, whom she considered as alike enemies to the monarchy and the hierarchy. Hence, on her accession to the throne, she filled her privy council with Buckingham, Jersey, Nottingham, Seymour, Wright, and Rochester, all distinguished Tories. Marlborough and Godolphin owed their favour, in the beginning of the reign, to professing the same principles. But the influence of the duchess, then omnipotent in the queen's favour, was uniformly exerted in favour of the Whigs; and as she governed both the queen, her husband, and Godolphin, she was enabled, first to balance the interest of the Tories at court, and at length totally to destroy it. And although the aggrandizement of her husband and his family was certainly the duchess's first object, her second was to effect it by allying them to the Whig interest.

* In 1702, the queen created Lord Marlborough a duke, and sent a message to the commons, expressing a wish that they would enable her to settle a pension of L. 5000 a-year upon him out of

in the tenderest point ; a point which outweighed all considerations of duty and gratitude to their prince, or regard to the constitution ; and, therefore, after having in several private meetings concerted measures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions, they began to change their style and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emissaries, that England must be saved by Whigs. This unnatural league was afterward cultivated by another incident, I mean the act of security, and the consequences of it, which every body knows ; when (to use the words of my correspondent *) the sovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister. Thus the union of the two kingdoms improved that between the ministry and the junto ; which was afterward cemented by their mutual danger in that storm they so narrowly escaped about three years ago, but, however, was not quite perfected till Prince George's † death ; and then they went lovingly on together, both satisfied with their several shares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations ; the first, their avarice and ambition ; the other, their models of innovation in church and state.

the post office revenue. But as this was before the duke had commenced his brilliant career of victory, the commons only saw in the proposal, a desire to gratify the husband of a female favourite, and declined compliance. As the Tories on this occasion voted against the court, it may be supposed still farther to have alienated the Duke of Marlborough from that party.

* Letter to the Examiner.

† Prince George of Denmark, husband to the queen, favoured the Tories at all times, nor could they be said quite to have lost their interest at court till his death.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled question, why was the late ministry changed? may receive the following answer, that it was become necessary by the insolence and avarice of some about the queen, * who, in order to perpetuate their tyranny, had made a monstrous alliance with those who profess principles destructive to our religion and government. If this will not suffice, let him make an abstract of all the abuses I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he still remain unsatisfied, let him suspend his opinion a few weeks longer. Although, after all, I think the question as trifling as that of the Papists, when they ask us, where was our religion before Luther? And, indeed, the ministry was changed for the same reasons that religion was reformed; because a thousand corruptions had crept into the discipline and doctrine of the state, by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition, of those who administered to us in secular affairs.

I heard myself censured the other day in a coffee-house, for seeming to glance in the letter to Crassus against a great man, who is still in employment, and likely to continue so. What if I had really intended that such an application should be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be justly blamed for so gentle a reproof. If I saw a handsome young fellow going to a ball at court, with a great smut upon his face, could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and desire him, with abundance of good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a glass, where he might plainly see it with his own eyes? Does any man

* The Marlborough family.

think I shall suffer my pen to inveigh against vices, only because they are charged upon persons who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or less pernicious, according to the stations of those who possess them. For example, lewdness and intemperance are not of so bad consequences in a town-rake as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer is more supportable than in an officer of the army. If I should find fault with an admiral because he wanted politeness, or an alderman for not understanding Greek, that, indeed, would be to go out of the way for occasion of quarrelling. But excessive avarice in a general is, I think, the greatest defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct; and may be attended with the most ruinous consequences, as it was in Crassus, who to that vice alone owed the destruction of himself and his army. It is the same thing in praising men's excellencies; which are more or less valuable, as the person you commend has occasion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honestly; yet, if he be not able to spell, he shall never have my vote to be a secretary. Another may have wit and learning, in a post, where honesty with plain common sense are of much more use. You may praise a soldier for his skill at chess, because it is said to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treasurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a gamester or a jockey.*

P. S. I have received a letter relating to Mr Green-shields; the person that sent it may know, that I will say something to it in the next paper.

* Alluding to the favourite foibles of Godolphin.

No. XXX.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1710-11.

Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odiis atque dissidiis funditus possit everti?

What family so established, what society so firmly united, that it cannot be broken and dissolved by intestine quarrels and divisions?

IF we examine what societies of men are in closest union among themselves, we shall find them either to be those who are engaged in some evil design, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of banditti in several countries abroad, the knots of highwaymen in our own nation, the several tribes of sharpers, thieves, and pickpockets, with many others, are so firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or dissolve their several gangs: so likewise those who are fellow sufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are usually contracted into a very strict union; as we may observe in the Papists throughout the kingdom, under those real difficulties which are justly put on them; and in the several schisms of Presbyterians, and other sects, under that grievous persecution of the modern kind, called want of power. And the reason why such confederacies are kept so sacred and inviolable is very plain; because in each of

those cases I have mentioned, the whole body is moved by one spirit in pursuit of one general end, and the interest of individuals is not crossed by each other, or by the whole.

Now both these motives are joined to unite the high-flying Whigs at present : they have been always engaged in an evil design, and of late they are faster rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loss of power. So that whatever designs a mischievous crew of dark confederates may possibly entertain, who will stop at no means to compass them, may be justly apprehended from these.

On the other side, those who wish well to the public, and would gladly contribute to its service, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it : and when their party flourishes, are sometimes envious at those in power ; ready to overvalue their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the measure they have prescribed for themselves. There is a farther topic of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into, in relation to retrospections, and inquiry into past miscarriages ; wherein some are thought too warm and zealous, others too cool and remiss ; while, in the meantime, these divisions are industriously fomented by the discarded faction ; which, although it be an old practice, has been much improved in the schools of the Jesuits ; who, when they despaired of perverting this nation to popery, by arguments or plots against the state, sent their emissaries to subdivide us into schisms.* And this expedient is now, with great propriety, taken up

* He alludes to the faction of violent Tories called the October Club, who associated themselves to enforce more violent measures against the late ministers.

by our men of incensed moderation ; because they suppose themselves able to attack the strongest of our subdivisions, and to subdue us one after another. Nothing better resembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii ; where, two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adversaries, after he had divided them by a stratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this should be touched ; yet, at the same time, I think it my duty to warn the friends, as well as expose the enemies of the public weal ; and to begin preaching up union, upon the first suspicion that any steps are made to disturb it.

But the two chief subjects of discontent, which, upon most great changes in the management of public affairs, are apt to breed differences among those who are in possession, are what I have just now mentioned ; a desire of punishing the corruption of former managers, and rewarding merit among those who have been any way instrumental or consenting to the change. The first of these is a point so nice, that I shall purposely wave it ; but the latter I take to fall properly within my district. By merit, I here understand that value which every man puts upon his own deservings from the public. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of paymaster general to this sort of merit ; or a more noisy, crowded place, than a court of judicature erected to settle and adjust every man's claim upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they would have dressed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction ; and given us a genealogy and de-

scription of merit, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical Genealogy and Description of MERIT.

“ THAT true Merit was the son of Virtue and Honour; but that there was likewise a spurious child, who usurped the name, and whose parents were Vanity and Impudence. That at a distance there was a great resemblance between them, and they were often mistaken for each other. That the bastard issue had a loud shrill voice, which was perpetually employed in cravings and complaints; while the other never spoke louder than a whisper, and was often so bashful that he could not speak at all. That in all great assemblies the false Merit would step before the true, and stand just in his way; was constantly at court, or great men’s levees, or whispering in some minister’s ear. That the more you fed him, the more hungry and importunate he grew. That he often passed for the true son of Virtue and Honour, and the genuine, for an impostor. That he was born distorted and a dwarf, but by force of art appeared of handsome shape, and taller than the usual size; and that none but those who were wise and good, as well as vigilant, could discover his littleness or deformity. That the true Merit had been often forced to the indignity of applying to the false, for his credit with those in power, and to keep himself from starving. That false Merit filled the antichambers with a crew of his dependants and creatures, such as projectors, schematists, occasional converts to a party, prostitute flatterers, starveling writers, buffoons, shallow politicians, empty orators, and the like; who all owned him for their pa-

tron, and he grew discontented if they were not immediately fed.”

This metaphorical description of false Merit is, I doubt, calculated for most countries in Christendom ; as to our own, I believe it may be said, with a sufficient reserve of charity, that we are fully able to reward every man among us according to his real deservings ; and I think I may add, without suspicion of flattery, that never any prince had a ministry with a better judgment to distinguish between false and real merit, than that which is now at the helm ; or whose inclination, as well as interest, was greater to encourage the latter. And it ought to be observed, that those great and excellent persons we see at the head of affairs are of the queen’s own personal, voluntary choice ; not forced upon her by any insolent, overgrown favourite, or by the pretended necessity of complying with an unruly faction.

Yet these are the persons whom those scandals to the press, in their daily pamphlets and papers, openly revile at so ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For surely no lawful power derived from a prince should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in authority exposed to every scurrilous libeller : because in this point I make a mighty difference between those who are in, and those who are out of power ; not upon any regard to their persons, but the stations they are placed in by the sovereign. And if my distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether, if a stranger were to read the invectives which are daily published against the present ministry, and the outrageous fury of the authors against me for censuring the last, he would not conclude the Whigs to

be at this time in full possession of power and favour, and the Tories entirely at their mercy. But all this now ceases to be a wonder, since the queen herself is no longer spared; witness the libel published some days ago, under the title of "A Letter to Sir Jacob Banks,"* where the reflections upon her sacred majesty are much more plain and direct, than ever the Examiner thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious persons in a ministry, discarded for endeavouring the ruin of their prince and country.† Cæsar, indeed, threatened to hang the

* Sir Jacob Banks, member for Minehead, and a zealous Tory, had presented in 1709-10 an address from that ancient borough, professing, in the broadest terms, that kings were accountable to God alone, and that subjects must obey, notwithstanding any oppression or tyranny whatever. Mr Benson, a young gentleman of parts, who had resided for some time in Sweden, was hence led to address to this knight of the high church a pamphlet entitled, "A Letter to Sir J— B—", by birth a Swede, but naturalized, and a member in the present parliament, concerning the late Minehead doctrine, which was established by a certain free parliament in Sweden, to the utter enslaving of that kingdom."

The letter-writer, under pretence of giving an account of the revolution which introduced absolute monarchy into Sweden, artfully selects such circumstances as came nearest a parallel between the events which preceded that alteration of government, and those attending Queen Anne's change of ministry.

† The author talks of this pamphlet more respectfully in a letter to Lord Peterborough, and at the same time explains his own modification of the grand Shibboleth of the parties. "Here is a pamphlet come out, called a Letter to Sir Jacob Banks, showing that the liberty of Sweden was destroyed by the principle of passive obedience. I know not whether his quotation be fair, but the piece is shrewdly written, and, in my opinion, not to be answered otherwise than by disclaiming that sort of passive obedience which the Tories are charged with. The dispute would soon be ended, if the dunces who write upon each side would plainly tell us what

pirates for presuming to disturb him, while he was their prisoner aboard their ship : but it was Cæsar who did so, and he did it to a crew of public robbers ; and it became the greatness of his spirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had they been in his power and sent such a message, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madness.

I had a letter last week relating to Mr Greenshields, an Episcopal clergyman of Scotland ; and the writer seems to be a gentleman of that part of Britain. I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr Greenshields's case, who has been prosecuted and silenced, for no other reason beside reading divine service after the manner of the church of England to his own congregation, who desired it ; though, as the gentleman who writes to me says, there is no law in Scotland against those meetings ; and he adds, that the sentence pronounced against Mr Greenshields will soon be affirmed, if some care be not taken to prevent it. I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this case, and besides, to treat it justly would not come within the compass of my paper ; therefore I could wish the gentleman would undertake it in a discourse by itself ; and I should be glad he would inform the public in one fact, whether Episcopal

the object of this passive obedience is in our country ; for I dare swear nine in ten of the Whigs will allow it to be the legislature, and as many of the Tories deny it to the prince alone ; and I hardly ever saw a Whig and Tory together, whom I could not immediately reconcile on that article when I made them explain themselves." *To Lord Peterborough, February 1710-11.* This passage merits peculiar attention, as written precisely at the time when Swift was endeavouring to put such an explanation on the peculiar tenets of the Tories, as he might find himself at liberty to hold and to support. See *Examiner*, No. 33.

assemblies are freely allowed in Scotland? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence some years ago into England and Ireland, as from a persecution; but it was alleged by their enemies, that they refused to take the oaths to the government, which, however, none of them scrupled when they came among us.* It is somewhat extraordinary to see our Whigs and fanatics keep such a stir about the sacred act of toleration, while their brethren will not allow a connivance in so near a neighbourhood; especially if what the gentleman insists on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, are Episcopal; of which, one argument he offers is, the present choice of their representatives in both Houses, though opposed to the utmost by the preachings, threatenings, and anathemas of the kirk. Such usage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous consequence; and I entirely agree with him. If these be the principles of the high-kirk, God preserve at least the southern parts from their tyranny!

* The Presbyterians, who had smarted severely under the penal laws against conventicles, made reprisals at the Revolution upon the Episcopal clergy, whom they considered as authors of their sufferings. Many were driven from their cures with riot and insult; an exaggerated account of which proceedings is given in "An Account of the present Persecution of the Church in Scotland, in several letters, London, 1690," 4to.

No. XXXI.

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1710-11.

——— *Garrit aniles*
Ex re fabellas.

————— Never fails
 To cheer our converse with his pithy tales.

I HAD last week sent me, by an unknown hand, a passage out of Plato, with some hints how to apply it. That author puts a fable into the mouth of Aristophanes, with an account of the original of love: that mankind was at first created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till Jupiter, as a punishment for his sins, cleft him in two with a thunder-bolt; since which time we are always looking out for our other half; and this is the cause of love. But Jupiter threatened, that, if they did not mend their manners, he would give them t'other slit, and leave them to hop about in the shape of figures in *basso relievo*. The effect of this last threatening, my correspondent imagines, is now come to pass; and that, as the first splitting was the original of love, by inclining us to search for our other half; so the second was the cause of hatred, by prompting us to fly from our other side, and dividing the same body into two, gave each slice the name of a party.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for parties do not only split a nation, but

every individual among them, leaving each but half their strength, and wit, and honesty, and good nature; but one eye and ear for their sight and hearing, and equally lopping the rest of the senses. Where parties are pretty equal in a state, no man can perceive one bad quality in his own, or good one in his adversaries. Besides, party being a dry disagreeable subject, it renders conversation insipid or sour, and confines invention. I speak not here of the leaders, but the insignificant crowd of followers in a party, who have been the instruments of mixing it in every condition and circumstance of life. As the zealots among the Jews bound the law about their forehead, and wrists, and hems of their garments, so the women among us have got the distinguishing marks of party in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The Whig ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the Tories.* They have made schisms in the play-house, and each have their particular sides at the opera; and when a man changes his party, he must infallibly count upon the loss of his mistress. I asked a gentleman the other day how he liked such a lady? But he would not give me his opinion till I had answered him whether she were a Whig or a Tory. Mr —, † since he is known to visit the present ministry, and lay some time under a suspicion of writing the Examiner, is no longer a man of wit; his very poems have contracted a stupidity many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of Merit, I thought it would be proper to add another

* There are some humorous papers in the Spectator on this odd mode of expressing party zeal.

† Mr Prior.

of Party, or rather of Faction, (to avoid mistake,) not telling the reader whether it be my own or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read, or dreamed it, the fable is as follows:—

“ Liberty, the daughter of Oppression, after having brought forth several fair children, as Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade, and many others, was at last delivered of her youngest daughter called Faction; whom Juno, doing the office of the midwife, distorted in her birth out of envy to the mother, whence it derived its peevishness and sickly constitution. However, as it is often the nature of parents to grow most fond of their youngest and disagreeablest children, so it happened with Liberty; who doated on this daughter to such a degree, that, by her good will, she would never suffer the girl to be out of her sight. As Miss Faction grew up, she became so termagant and froward, that there was no enduring her any longer in Heaven. Jupiter gave her warning to be gone; and her mother, rather than forsake her, took the whole family down to earth. She landed first in Greece; was expelled by degrees through all the cities by her daughter’s ill-conduct; fled afterward to Italy, and, being banished thence, took shelter among the Goths, with whom she passed into most parts of Europe; but, being driven out every where, she began to lose esteem, and her daughter’s faults were imputed to herself; so that, at this time, she has hardly a place in the world to retire to. One would wonder what strange qualities this daughter must possess, sufficient to blast the influence of so divine a mother and the rest of her children. She always affected to keep mean and scandalous company; valuing nobody but just as they agreed with her in every capricious opinion she thought fit to take up; and

rigorously exacting compliance, though she changed her sentiments ever so often. Her great employment was, to breed discord among friends and relations, and make up monstrous alliances between those whose dispositions least resembled each other. Whoever offered to contradict her, though in the most insignificant trifle, she would be sure to distinguish by some ignominious appellation, and allow them to have neither honour, wit, beauty, learning, honesty, or common sense. She intruded into all companies at the most unseasonable times; mixed at balls, assemblies, and other parties of pleasure, haunted every coffee-house and bookseller's shop, and by her perpetual talking filled all places with disturbance and confusion; she buzzed about the merchant in the Exchange, the divine in his pulpit, and the shopkeeper behind his counter. Above all, she frequented public assemblies, where she sat in the shape of an obscene, ominous bird, ready to prompt her friends, as they spoke."

If I understand this fable of Faction right, it ought to be applied to those who set themselves up against the true interest and constitution of their country; which I wish the undertakers for the late ministry would please to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of speech they pretend to call so great and unforced a majority, with the queen at their head, by the name of the Faction; which is not unlike the phrase of the Nonjurors, who, dignifying one or two deprived bishops, and half a score clergymen of the same stamp, with the title of the Church of England, exclude all the rest as schismatics; or like the Presbyterians, laying the same accusation, with equal justice, against the established religion.

And here it may be worth inquiring what are the true characteristics of a faction; or how it is to be distin-

guished from that great body of the people who are friends to the constitution? The heads of a faction are usually a set of upstarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom some great change in a government did at first, out of their obscurity, produce upon the stage. They associate themselves with those who dislike the old establishment, religious and civil. They are full of new schemes in politics and divinity; they have an incurable hatred against the old nobility, and strengthen their party by dependants raised from the lowest of the people. They have several ways of working themselves into power; but they are sure to be called, when a corrupt administration wants to be supported, against those who are endeavouring at a reformation; and they firmly observe that celebrated maxim of preserving power by the same arts by which it is attained. They act with the spirit of those who believe their time is but short; and their first care is to heap up immense riches at the public expence; in which they have two ends beside that common one of insatiable avarice, which are, to make themselves necessary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compass their design, which is, instead of fitting their principles to the constitution, to alter and adjust the constitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is easy determining by this test to which side the name of faction most properly belongs. But, however, I will give them any system of law or regal government, from William the Conqueror to this present time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of Cromwell, whom, perhaps, they will reckon for a monarch.

If the present ministry, and so great a majority in the

parliament and kingdom, be only a faction, it must appear by some actions which answer the idea we usually conceive from that word. Have they abused the prerogatives of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the subject? Have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or state? Have they broached any doctrines of heresy, rebellion, or tyranny? Have any of them treated their sovereign with insolence, engrossed and sold all her favours, or deceived her by base, gross misrepresentations of her most faithful servants? These are the arts of a faction, and whoever has practised them, they and their followers must take up with the name.

It is usually reckoned a Whig principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their understandings beforehand. Will they now stand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which side their title of faction belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their understanding and choice, I believe their adversaries will hardly deny. They will now refuse this appeal, and it is reasonable they should; and I will farther add, that if our people resembled the old Grecians, there might be danger in such a trial. A pragmatICAL orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces: Yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you, whenever they are in their wits. But, God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at present under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their sovereign's presence, and be-

fore the highest court of judicature, without any hazard to their persons.

No. XXXII.

THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1710-11.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis scalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina est ista, et crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicæ, qui exsecant pestem aliquam, tanquam strumam civitatis.

To apply the knife to a sound and healthy part of the body, is butchery and cruelty; not real surgery. Those are the true physicians and surgeons of a state, who cut off the pests of society, like wens from the human body.

I AM diverted from the general subject of my discourses, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and surprising nature. A great minister, in high confidence with the queen, under whose management the weight of affairs at present is in a great measure supposed to lie; sitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the state, is stabbed at the very board in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French Papist, * then under examination for high trea-

* For an account of this attempted assassination, see the Journal, and "A true Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard," &c. It is enough here to remind the reader, that he was a refugee Frenchman, who had been received into the British service; but having wasted his resources, resolved

son ; the assassin redoubles his blow to make sure work ; and concluding the chancellor * was dispatched, goes on with the same rage to murder a principal secretary of state ; † and that whole noble assembly are forced to rise and draw their swords in their own defence, as if a wild beast had been let loose among them.

This fact has some circumstances of aggravation not to be paralleled by any of the like kind we meet with in history. Cæsar's murder being performed in the senate, comes nearest to the case ; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief senators, who were likewise the actors in it ; and not the work of a vile single ruffian. Harry the Third of France was stabbed by an enthusiastic friar, whom he suffered to approach his person, while those who attended him stood at some distance. His successor met the same fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles, in such a confinement, were able to defend themselves. In our own country we have, I think, but one instance of this sort, which has made any noise ; I mean that of Felton about fourscore years ago ; but he took the opportunity to stab the Duke of Buckingham, in passing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither seen nor heard, and the murderer might have escaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is usual in such cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, that act of Felton will admit of

to make peace with his own country, by betraying the secrets of England. His letters being intercepted, he was brought before the council for examination, when, in a fit of frenzy and despair, he stabbed Mr Harley.

* Mr Harley, then chancellor of the exchequer, afterward Earl of Oxford.

† Mr Henry St John, afterward Lord Bolingbroke.

some extenuation, from the motives he is said to have had ; but this attempt of Guiscard seems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumstance, except the difference of persons between a king and a great minister : for I give no allowance at all to the difference of success, (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending,) nor think it the least alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the punishment.

I am sensible it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains it is so unfortunate to produce ; yet at the same time it must be avowed, that the French have, for these last centuries, been somewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the persons of their greatest men ; such as the Admiral de Coligny, the Dukes of Guise father and son, and the two kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence ; who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures ; whose essentialities are generally so very superficial ; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid villainies, more suitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the silence and thoughtfulness of an Italian : unless it be, that in a nation naturally so full of themselves, and of so restless imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that huddle of confused thoughts, for want of evaporating, usually terminates in rage or despair. D'Avila observes, that Jacques Clement * was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the

* The monk who assassinated Henry III. of France.

friars used to make sport with ; but at last giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his king.

But, in the Marquis de Guiscard, there seems to have been a complication of ingredients for such an attempt. He had committed several enormities in France, was extremely prodigal and vicious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, such as in vulgar physiognomy is called an ill look. For the rest, his talents were very mean, having a sort of inferior cunning, but very small abilities ; so that a great man of the late ministry, by whom he was invited over, and with much discretion raised at first step, from a profligate popish priest, to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, was at last forced to drop him for shame.

Had such an accident happened under that ministry, and to so considerable a member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of those they are pleased to call the faction. This would have been styled a high church principle ; the clergy would have been accused as promoters and abettors of the fact ; committees would have been sent, to promise the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confession ; and a black list would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the murderer's company. But the present men in power hate and despise all such detestable arts, which they might now turn upon their adversaries with much more plausibility, than ever these did their honourable negotiations with Greg. *

* " In the beginning of the year 1708, William Greg, an under clerk to Mr Secretary Harley, was detected in a correspondence

And here it may be worth observing, how unanimous a concurrence there is between some persons once in great power and a French Papist ; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr Harley's life, though differing in their methods ; the first, proceeding by subornation, the other, by violence ; wherein Guiscard seems to have the advantage, as aiming no farther than his life ; while the others designed to destroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this gentleman seems to have risen from the same cause, his discovering designs against the government. It was Mr Harley who detected the treasonable correspondence of Greg, and secured him betimes, when a certain great man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politics, sent him a caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon

with Monsieur Chamillard, one of the French king's ministers, to whom he transmitted the proceedings of both houses of parliament with respect to the augmentation of the British forces, and other papers of great importance. Greg, when he was indicted of this treason, pleaded guilty, which gave occasion to Mr Harley's enemies to insinuate, that he was privy to Greg's practices, and had, by assurances of pardon, prevailed upon him to plead guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witnesses : the House of Lords appointed a committee of seven, of whom Lord Sunderland was manager, to inquire into the affair ; the committee presented an address to the queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr Harley's papers had been long exposed to the meanest clerks in his office ; and it was requested, that more caution might be used for the future. Upon this address the execution of Greg was deferred a month ; during which time he was solicited, threatened, and promised, but still persisting to take the whole guilt upon himself, he was at length executed, having, in a paper which he left behind him, justified Mr Harley in particular ; which he would scarce have thought necessary, if no particular attempt had been made against him."—HAWKESWORTH.

Mr Harley : but when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal, with promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the secretary : but, to use Greg's own expression, his death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life, that must be saved by prostituting his conscience.* The same gentleman now lies stabbed by his other enemy, a Popish spy, whose treason he has discovered. God preserve the rest of her majesty's ministers from such Protestants, and from such Papists!

I shall take occasion to hint at some particularities in this surprising fact, for the sake of those at a distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confessed in Newgate, that his chief design was against Mr Secretary St John, who happened to change seats with Mr Harley for more convenience of examining the criminal : and being asked what provoked him to stab the chancellor ? he said, That, not being able to come at the secretary as he intended, it was some satisfaction to murder the person whom he thought Mr St John loved best.†

* In Greg's dying speech, he begs pardon of the wrong he had done to the Right Honourable Robert Harley, in betraying his trust ; and adds, " Though this declaration be of itself sufficient to clear the said gentleman, yet, for the sake of those whom it was my misfortune not to be able to satisfy in my lifetime, I do sacredly protest, that, as I shall answer it before the judgment seat of Christ, the gentleman aforesaid was not privy to my writing to France, directly nor indirectly." Yet, notwithstanding the solemnity of this dying declaration, so deaf was the ear of party, that the Whigs persisted to maintain that it was drawn up by Harley himself, who, it was affirmed, induced Greg to subscribe it, by promising him a reprieve at the foot of the gallows ; as if any criminal would have trusted his life to the precarious intercession of an accomplice, when he could have made it safe by discovery.

† Swift, in his Memoirs on the Change of Ministry, observes,

And here, if Mr Harley has still any enemies left, whom his blood spilt in the public service cannot reconcile, I hope they will at least admire his magnanimity, which is a quality esteemed even in an enemy; and I think there are few greater instances of it to be found in story. After the wound was given, he was observed neither to change his countenance, nor discover any concern or disorder in his speech. He rose up, and walked about the room while he was able, with the greatest tranquillity, during the height of the confusion. When the surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, because in that case, he said, he had some affairs to settle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow against the rib, within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out, (I know not whether from the wound or his clothes,) as the surgeon was going to dress him: he ordered it to be taken up, and, wiping it himself, gave it to some body to keep,

that Bolingbroke's affecting to be considered as the principal but of Guiscard's revenge, was the first cause of difference between him and Harley; and adds, that it was thus stated in the Examiner which Mr St John perused, but made no alteration in that passage. Yet Swift argues, that St John might be mistaken; and in defending this passage in the next number, he says, that he only meant to report Guiscard's own words, without drawing any conclusions from thence, believing fully, in terms of the address of both houses, that Mr Harley's zeal and fidelity had drawn on himself the hatred of the abettors of popery and faction. And so difficult did he find it to treat of this nice point, without offending one of his two patrons, that he left to Mrs Manley the drawing up of the full narrative, upon which he would otherwise doubtless have bestowed his best labour.—*See Journal for 11th March and 16th April, 1710-11*

saying, he thought it now properly belonged to him. He showed no sort of resentment, nor spoke one violent word against Guiscard, but appeared all the while the least concerned of any in the company; a state of mind, which, in such an exigency, nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a Christian philosopher.

If there be really so great a difference in principle, between the high-flying Whigs and the friends of France, I cannot but repeat the question, how came they to join in the destruction of the same man? Can his death be possibly for the interest of both? Or have they both the same quarrel against him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous designs of our enemies? However it be, this great minister may now say with St Paul, that he has been in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by strangers.

In the midst of so melancholy a subject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that such a savage monster as the Marquis de Guiscard is none of her production: a wretch, perhaps, more detestable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to represent him to the world. For there are good reasons to believe, from several circumstances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than those he happened to execute: I mean such as every good subject must tremble to think on. He has of late been frequently seen going up the back stairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her majesty's bed-chamber. He has often and earnestly pressed, for some time, to have access to the queen, even since his correspondence with France.* And he has now given such a proof of his dis-

* " For he had tried, by all the ways he could conceive, to be

position, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an occasion as this, and direct a punishment some way proportionable to so execrable a crime. *

*Et quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita*——

No. XXXIII.

THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1710-11.

De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi assentior.

I agree with you in respect to your sentiments for preserving our liberty, than which nothing can be more pleasing to a human mind.

THE apologies of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the most useful parts of their writings, and to have done greatest service to the Christian religion; be-

admitted to speak with her in private, which he had attempted that very morning."—*Burnet*, Vol. II. p. 566.

* Upon a recommendation from the crown, an act was passed, to make an attempt on the life of a privy counsellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy. This statute could have no retrospect: nevertheless, Swift says in his *Journal*, he is sorry for Guiscard's death, as they had found a way to hang him. I suppose they meant to value the penknife at forty shillings and upwards, and hang the marquis for privately stealing it.

cause they removed those misrepresentations which had done it most injury. The methods these writers took were, openly and freely to discover every point of their faith, to detect the falsehood of their accusers, and to charge nothing upon their adversaries but what they were sure to make good. This example has been ill followed of later times : the Papists, since the Reformation, using all arts to palliate the absurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thousand calumnies ; the consequence of which has been only a more various, wide, and inveterate separation. It is the same thing in civil schisms : a Whig forms an image of a Tory, just after the thing he most abhors, and that image serves to represent the whole body.

I am not sensible of any material difference there is between those who call themselves the old Whigs, and a great majority of the present Tories ; at least by all I could ever find from examining several persons of each denomination. But it must be confessed, that the present body of Whigs, as they now constitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox professor, either in religion or government, whose opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of lessening their number ; while the bulk of the landed men, and people, were entirely of the old sentiments. However, they still pretended a due regard to the monarchy and the church, even at the time when they were making the largest steps toward the ruin of both ; but, not being able to wipe off the many accusations laid to their charge, they endeavoured, by throwing scandal, to make the Tories appear blacker than themselves : and so the people might join with them, as the smaller evil of the two.

But among all the reproaches which the Whigs have flung upon their adversaries, there is none has done them more service than that of passive obedience, as they represent it with the consequences of non-resistance, arbitrary power, indefeasible right, tyranny, popery, and what not. There is no accusation which has passed with more plausibility than this, or any that is supported with less justice. In order, therefore, to undeceive those who have been misled by false representations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to set this matter in a fair light, which I think has not yet been done. A Whig asks, Whether you hold passive obedience? you affirm it: he then immediately cries out, You are a Jacobite, a friend of France and the Pretender! because he makes you answerable for the definition he has formed of that term, however different it be from what you understand. I will, therefore, give two descriptions of passive obedience; the first, as it is falsely charged by the Whigs; the other, as it is really professed by the Tories; at least by nineteen in twenty of all I ever conversed with.

Passive Obedience, as charged by the Whigs.

THE doctrine of passive obedience is, to believe that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only answerable to him: that such a king is above all law; that the cruellest tyrant must be submitted to in all things; and if his commands be ever so unlawful, you must neither fly nor resist, nor use any other weapons than prayers and tears. Although he should force your wife and daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diversion; you are still to wish him a long,

prosperous reign, and to be patient under all his cruelties, with the same resignation as under a plague or a famine ; because to resist him would be to resist God, in the person of his vicegerent. If a king of England should go through the streets of London in order to murder every man he met, passive obedience commands them to submit. All laws made to limit him signify nothing, although passed by his own consent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will, indeed, call him to a severe account ; but the whole people, united to a man, cannot presume to hold his hands, or offer him the least active disobedience : the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worse than what I have described, although a fool or a madman, has a divine indefeasible right to succeed him, which no law can disannul ; nay, although he should kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately king to all intents and purposes ; the possession of the crown wiping off all stains. But whosoever sits on the throne without this title, though ever so peaceably, and by consent of former kings and parliaments, is a usurper, while there is any where in the world another person who has a nearer hereditary right ; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal sin, till that heir be restored, because he has a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

This and a great deal more has, in a thousand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of passive obedience, which the Whigs are pleased to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually instilling into the people, as the undoubted principle by which the present ministry, and a great majority in parliament, do at this time proceed. This is what they accuse the clergy of

delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine absolutely necessary to salvation. And whoever affirms in general, that passive obedience is due to the supreme power, he is presently loaded by our candid adversaries with such consequences as these. Let us, therefore, see what this doctrine is, when stripped of such misrepresentations, by describing it as really taught and practised by the Tories; and then it will appear what grounds our adversaries have to accuse us upon this article.

Passive Obedience, as professed and practised by the Tories.

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republic, there is placed a supreme, absolute, unlimited power, to which passive obedience is due. That wherever is entrusted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal or enact at pleasure whatever laws it thinks fit; and justly demand universal obedience and non-resistance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the king or queen, together with the lords and commons of the kingdom; and, therefore, all decrees whatsoever, made by that power, are to be actively or passively obeyed. That the administration, or executive part of this power, is, in England, solely entrusted with the prince; who, in administering those laws, ought to be no more resisted than the legislative power itself. But they do not conceive the same absolute passive obedience to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he has consented to, and sworn to maintain. The crown may be sued as well as a private person; and if an arbitrary king of England

should send his officers to seize my lands or goods against law, I can lawfully resist them. The ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to prosecution and impeachment, although his own person be sacred. But, if he interpose royal authority to support their insolence, I see no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reason to apprehend it will be so ; after which, it becomes a case of necessity ; and then, I suppose, a free people may assert their own rights, yet without any violation to the person or lawful power of the prince. But, although the Tories allow all this, and did justify it by the share they had in the Revolution ; yet they see no reason for entering upon so ungrateful a subject, or raising controversies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehensions of tyranny, under the reign of so excellent a princess, and while we have so many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative ; when, according to the judgment of those who know our constitution best, things rather seem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the succession, the Tories think an hereditary right to be the best in its own nature, and most agreeable to our old constitution ; yet, at the same time, they allow it to be defeasible by act of parliament ; and so is Magna Charta too, if the legislature think fit : which is a truth so manifest, that no man, who understands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it. *

* These contrasted statements of the Tories' doctrine of passive obedience seem to have been drawn up in imitation of the celebrated apology for the Catholic religion in the reign of James II. entitled, " Papists Represented and Misrepresented." And it may be justly objected to the Apologists in both cases, that, in endeavouring to lower their peculiar doctrines to the tone of common

These I take to be the sentiments of a great majority among the Tories with respect to passive obedience : and if the Whigs insist, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to form a judgment of the whole body, according to the first account I have here given ; I will engage to produce as many of their side, who are utterly against passive obedience even to the legislature ; who will assert the last resort of power to be in the people, against those whom they have chosen and trusted as their representatives, with the prince at the head ; and who will put wild improbable cases, to show the reasonableness and necessity of resisting the legislative power in such imaginary junctures :

sense, they are obliged to vary materially from the authorities on which they are founded. For example, the following statement of the doctrine of non-resistance by two of the apostles of Toryism will, I fear, be found fully to warrant the charge of the Whigs :

“ For a man to take up arms (offensive or defensive) against a lawful sovereign, being a thing in its nature unlawful, may not be done by any man, at any time, in any cases, upon any colour or pretence whatsoever ; not for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourselves or others ; nor for the defence of religion, nor for the preservation of a church or state ; no nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul ; no not for the redemption of the whole world.”—*Bishop Sanderson's Works*, p. 522.

“ Subjects must obey passively, where they can't obey actively ; otherwise government would be precarious. Nor is this only a state-doctrine, but the doctrine also of Jesus Christ, and that a necessary and indispensable one too, as sufficiently appears from these famous words of St Paul, Rom. xiii. 1, 2, which are so plain, that they need no comment ; so, that so long as this text stands in our Bibles, the doctrine of non-resistance or passive obedience must be of obligation to all Christians.”—*Dr Sharpe, Archbishop of York's Sermon before the House of Lords in 1700.*

than which, however, nothing can be more idle ; for I dare undertake in any system of government, either speculative or practic, that was ever yet in the world, from Plato's Republic to Harrington's Oceana, to put such difficulties as cannot be answered.

All the other calumnies raised by the Whigs may be as easily wiped off ; and I have the charity to wish they could as fully answer the just accusations we have against them. Dodwell, Hickes, and Lesley, are gravely quoted to prove, that the Tories design to bring in the Pretender ; and if I should quote them to prove that the same thing is intended by the Whigs, it would be full as reasonable ; since I am sure they have at least as much to do with Nonjurors as we. But our objections against the Whigs are built upon their constant practice for many years, whereof I have produced a hundred instances, against any single one of which no answer, has yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that are written against the Examiner ; such a task as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo, for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my mistakes : as I would be ready to do upon the call of the meanest adversary. Upon which occasion I shall take leave to add a few words.

I flattered myself last Thursday, from the nature of my subject, and the inoffensive manner I handled it, * that I should have one week's respite from those merciless pens, whose severity will some time break my heart : but I am deceived, and find them more violent than

* " And the inoffensive manner I handled it,"—is a mode of speech ungrammatical ; it ought to be—" in which I handled it."

ever. They charge me with two lies, and a blunder.* The first lie is a truth, that Guiscard was invited over : but it is of no consequence. I do not tax it as a fault ; such sort of men have often been serviceable : I only blamed the indiscretion of raising a profligate abbot, at the first step, to a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, without staying some reasonable time, as is usual in such cases, until he had given some proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that interest and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is said to be another lie ; for he was a Papist, and could not have a regiment : however, this other lie is a truth too ; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent, Monsieur le Bas, for his use. The third is a blunder ; that I say Guiscard's design was against Mr Secretary St John, and yet my reasonings upon it are as if it were personally against Mr Harley. But I say no such thing, and my reasonings are just. I relate only what Guiscard

* The author is alluding to some statements in the Medley, No. 25, which, to say truth, are not very german to the matter. For, whether Guiscard was expressly invited to England by the ministry or no, was very little to the purpose, since he received encouragement when he came. Neither could the Examiner be called incorrect in stating that he was made a lieutenant-general and colonel of horse, since the answerer admitted, that he had a commission to act as lieutenant-general in case of a landing in France, and that he was actually colonel of a regiment of foreign cavalry, which, although in the service of the emperor, was in the pay of England. The author of the Medley would have acted more wisely, if, instead of these idle cavils, he had vindicated the former ministry on the broad and tenable ground, that though they encouraged Guiscard while they thought he might be of any use to the cause of the confederates, their doing so by no means implicated them in his last treasonable and desperate designs.

said in Newgate, because it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know, and accordingly it lies in a paragraph by itself, after my reflections ; but I never meant to be answerable for what Guiscard said, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw conclusions thence, when I had the address of both Houses to direct me better ; where it is expressly said, that Mr Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction. This is what I believe, and what I shall stick to.

But, alas ! these are not the passages which have raised so much fury against me. One or two mistakes in facts of no importance, or a single blunder, would not have provoked them ; they are not so tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occasioned by those passages in that paper, which they do not in the least pretend to answer, and with the utmost reluctance are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear Guiscard from a design against Mr Harley's life : * but offer not one argument to clear their

* Harley, as a minister, reaped great advantage from Guiscard's attack on his person. Pity for the sufferer, and horror for the attempt, not only added to his general popularity, but even his professed opponents became ashamed of urging a predilection for France, against a statesman whose life was endangered by a wound from a French agent. What they did not venture to state in their graver publications, they took, however, other means to insinuate. It was suggested, that Guiscard's rage was awakened by finding that his life was to be sacrificed to the safety of an accomplice : and the Archbishop of Dublin, in particular, was charged with quoting the case of Fenius Rufus, and Scevinus, in the 15th book of Tacitus, *accensis indicibus ad prodendum Fenium Rufum, quem eundem conscium et inquisitorem non tolerabunt.* As another instance

other friends, who, in the business of Greg, were equally guilty of the same design against the same person ; whose tongues were very swords, and whose penknives were axes.

of the power of faction in perverting and ridiculing whatever makes against her cause, and as a justification of the charge brought by Swift against the Whigs, which we may in vain look for in their more formal publications, the following ballad is worth preserving :

On Guiscard's stabbing Robin.

Attend, good people, give an ear,
Listen a while, and you shall hear
What strange account Guiscard's affair

Will make in future story :
How he was taken up and try'd,
And how he all the facts deny'd ;
How he was wounded, how he dy'd
To Britain's endless glory.

If fame be not mistaken, he
Taking a turn, one, two, or three,
By order of the ministry,
Was seized in the Park, sir ;
And thence convey'd to a room of state,
Where privy councillors debate
The grand affairs of church and state,
As some make their remark, sir.

Young Cato first a letter shows
Of correspondence with our foes,
Which by experience he well knows
Will no small profit bring, sir :
In this the proverb true we see,
Two of a trade can ne'er agree,
For Guiscard was no more than he
A spy to the French king, sir.

The abbot saw himself betray'd
By those who all the scheme had laid,
Whose tool he all along was made,
To serve young Perkin's ends, sir ;
And, therefore, boldly out he drew
A knife, whose metal prov'd untrue,
And at good Robin's breast he flew,
Resolved to fall with friends, sir.

No. XXXIV.

THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1710-11.

—*Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi ;
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.*

—————See

The palm that virtue yields ! in scenes like these
We trace humanity, and man with man
Related by the kindred sense of woe.

I BEGIN to be heartily weary of my employment as
Examiner ; which I wish the ministry would consider

As soon as the noble Ha——y found
The knife in his breast had made a wound,
The council did to battle sound .

Like claps of summer's thunder :
Chairs and standish, ink and pen,
To fly about the room were seen,
But valiant St J——n he stept in,
And made the count knock under.

In the article of danger he
Was so composed, that all agree,
For presence of mind and bravery,
He could be out-done by no man :
And by the greatness of his soul,
Which did the passion of fear control,
And kept his spirit sound and whole,
He sure must be a Roman.

A noble and a valiant peer,
Prompted by reason more than fear,
Thought fit some time to disappear
Under the council board, sir :
And reason for his elopement gave,
That sure no person that was brave,
A hand in such a fray would have,
Or draw his rusty sword, sir.

with half so much concern as I do, and assign me some other, with less pains, and a larger pension. There may soon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am equally qualified for each ; but this trade of examining, I apprehend, may at one time or other go near to sour my temper. I did lately propose, that some of those ingenious pens, which are engaged on the other side, might be employed to succeed me ; and I undertook to bring them over for t'other crown ; but it was answered, that those gentlemen do much better service in the stations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuses yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other subjects that came into my head. On the other side, the advices of some friends, and the threats of many enemies, have put me upon considering, what would have become of me, if times should alter ; this I have done very maturely, and the result is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant that what I have said upon occasion, concerning the late men in power, may

Another duke, to see fair play,
 Which he had never done, some say,
 Thought it the most convenient way,
 To mount upon the table :
 And when their safeties he had seen,
 Put up your swords, cry'd, gentlemen,
 For what can one man do to ten ?
 To hurt you he's not able.

And now, my friends, I should do wrong,
 Could I forget in this my song
 To tell t'which side he did belong,
 Before I end my story.
 Some say he was a Whig, but I,
 By's being bred in Popery,
 And being call'd Monsieur L'Abbe,
 Declare him a rank Tory.

be called satire by some unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I must give them warning beforehand, that I shall expect to be a favourite, and that those pretended advocates of theirs will be pilloried for libellers. For, I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one single action or design, which, (if we may judge by their former practices,) they will not openly profess, be proud of, and score up for merit when they come again to the head of affairs? I said, they were insolent to the queen; will they not value themselves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold assertors of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were against a peace; will they be angry with me for setting forth the refinements of their politics, in pursuing the only method left to preserve them in power? I said, they had involved the nation in debts, and engrossed much of its money; they go beyond me, and boast they have got it all, and the credit too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government; if they destroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyric than an affront? I said, they had formerly a design against Mr Harley's life; if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for justifying the sincerity of their intentions? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy patriots, which may not be as well excused; therefore, as soon as they resume their places, I positively design to put in my claim; and, I think, may do it with a much better grace than many of that party, who now make their court to the present ministry. I know two or three great men, at whose levees you may daily observe a score

of the most forward faces, which every body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But, I conceive, my pretensions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel case : Suppose King Charles the First had entirely subdued the rebels at Naseby, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience ; whoever had gone about to reason from the former conduct of those saints, that if the victory had fallen on their side, they would have murdered their prince, destroyed monarchy and the church, and made the king's party compound for their estates as delinquents, would have been called a false uncharitable libeller, by those very persons who afterward gloried in all this, and called it the work of the Lord, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a person fined and imprisoned for *scandalum magnatum*, because he said the Duke of York was a Papist ; but when that prince came to be king, and made open profession of his religion, he had the justice immediately to release his prisoner, who, in his opinion, had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach ; and therefore Colonel Titus,* who had warmly asserted the same thing in parliament, was made a privy-counsellor.

By this rule, if that, which for some politic reasons is now called scandal upon the late ministry, proves one day to be only an abstract of such a character as they will assume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretensions, and hope for their favour ; and I am the

* Silas Titus, author of the celebrated tract against Oliver Cromwell, entitled, " Killing no Murder," and a zealous supporter of the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the crown, was, nevertheless, sworn privy-counsellor to James II., on the 6th July 1688.

more confirmed in this notion, by what I have observed in those papers that come out weekly against the Examiner. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my masters; that I blunder and betray the cause; and write with more bitterness against those who hire me than against the Whigs. Now I took all this at first only for so many strains of wit, and pretty paradoxes, to divert the reader; but, upon farther thinking, I find they are serious. I imagined I had complimented the present ministry for their dutiful behaviour to the queen, for their love of the old constitution in church and state, for their generosity and justice, and for their desire of a speedy honourable peace; but it seems I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for satire, because it is directly contrary to the practice of all those whom they set up to defend, and utterly against all their notions of a good ministry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reason on their side; for, suppose I should write the character of an honest, a religious, and a learned man; and send the first to Newgate, the second to the Grecian Coffee-house, and the last to White's, would they not all pass for satires, and justly enough, among the companies to whom they were sent?

Having therefore employed several papers in such sort of panegyric, and but very few on what they understand to be satires, I shall henceforth upon occasion be more liberal of the latter; of which they are likely to have a taste in the remainder of this present paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom has received by the late change of ministry, the greatest must be allowed to be, the calling of the present parliament upon the dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged, that this excellent assembly has entirely recovered the

honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily prostituted for some years past, by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority, in concert with a most corrupt administration. It is plain by the present choice of members, that the electors of England, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true interest. The moderate Whigs begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in the wrong hands, and that things are now as they should be. And as the present House of Commons is the best representative of the nation that has ever been summoned in our memories, so they have taken care in their first session, by that noble bill of qualification,* that future parliaments should be composed of landed men; and our properties lie no more at the mercy of those who have none themselves, or at least only what is transient or imaginary. † If there be any gratitude in posterity, the memory of this assembly will be always celebrated; if otherwise, at least we, who share in the blessings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them.

I design in some following papers to draw up a list (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament has already performed; the many abuses they have detected; their justice in deciding elections without regard to party; their cheerfulness and address in raising supplies for the war, and at the same time providing for the nation's debts; their duty to the queen, and their kindness to the church. In the mean time, I cannot

* The qualification required by this act is some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion; a provision avowedly intended for the security of the landed against the monied interest.

† Alluding to the funds.

forbear mentioning two particulars, which, in my opinion, do discover in some measure the temper of the present parliament, and bear analogy to those passages related by Plutarch in the lives of certain great men; which, as himself observes, although they be not of actions which make any great noise or figure in history, yet give more light into the characters of persons, than we could receive from an account of their most renowned achievements.

Something like this may be observed, from two late instances of decency and good nature in that illustrious assembly I am speaking of. The first was, when, after that inhuman attempt upon Mr Harley, they were pleased to vote an address to the queen, wherein they express their utmost detestation of the fact, their high esteem and great concern for that able minister, and justly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her majesty's service, which had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. I dare affirm, that so distinguishing a mark of honour and good will, from such a parliament, was more acceptable to a person of Mr Harley's generous nature, than the most bountiful grant that was ever yet made to a subject; as her majesty's answer, filled with gracious expressions in his favour, adds more to his real glory, than any titles she could bestow. The prince and representatives of the whole kingdom join in their concern for so important a life; these are the true rewards of virtue; and this is the commerce between noble spirits, in a coin, which the giver knows where to bestow, and the receiver how to value, although neither avarice nor ambition would be able to comprehend its worth.

The other instance I intend to produce, of decency

and good nature in the present House of Commons, relates to their most worthy speaker ; * who having † unfortunately lost his eldest son, the assembly, moved with a generous pity for so sensible an affliction, adjourned themselves for a week, that so good a servant for the public might have some interval to wipe away a father's tears. And, indeed, that gentleman has too just an occasion for his grief, by the death of a son, who had already acquired so great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be so great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before I conclude, I must desire one favour of the reader ; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruse any paper written against the Examiner, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in such papers, but be so just as to read the paragraph referred to, which I am confident will be found a sufficient answer to all that ever those papers can object ; at least I have seen above fifty of them, and never yet observed one single quotation transcribed with common candour.

* William Bromley, Esq. elected speaker, November 23, 1710 ; and sworn of the privy council, June 23, 1711. He died February 6, 1732.

† Mr Bromley's son died of the small-pox, and the House adjourned for a week, that he might wipe off his tears. " I think," says Swift to Stella, " it is very handsomely done. But, I believe, one reason is, that they want Mr Harley so much."

No. XXXV.

THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1710-11.

Nulla suo peccato impediuntur, quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.

No fault or crime in themselves, hinders them from searching into, and pointing out the faults of others.

I HAVE been considering the old constitution of this kingdom ; comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet so many accounts in ancient story, and with those at present in most parts of Europe. I have considered our religion, established here by the legislature soon after the Reformation. I have likewise examined the genius and disposition of the people under that reasonable freedom they possess. Then I have turned my reflections upon those two great divisions of Whig and Tory, (which some way or other take in the whole kingdom,) with the principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this, I endeavour to determine, from which side her present majesty may reasonably hope for most security to her person and government ; and to which she ought in prudence to trust the administration of her affairs. If these two rivals were really no more than parties according to the common acceptation of the word, I should agree with those politicians, who think a prince descends from his dignity, by putting himself at the head of either ;

and that his wisest course is to keep them in a balance, raising or depressing either, as it best suits with his designs. But when the visible interest of his crown and kingdom lies on one side ; and when the other is but a faction, raised and strengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with false representations of things ; he ought in prudence to take the first opportunity of opening his subjects' eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those who are for preserving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

This was certainly our case : for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the Whigs, to make up, strictly speaking, a national party ; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent parts, whom nothing served to unite, but the common interest of sharing in the spoil and plunder of the people ; the present dread of their adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account ; and that general conspiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and state, which, however, if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in pieces, as their predecessors did after they destroyed the monarchy and religion. For, how could a Whig, who is against all discipline, agree with a Presbyterian, who carries it higher than the Papists themselves ? How could a Socinian adjust his models to either ? Or how could any of these cement with a Deist, or Freethinker, when they came to consult upon points of faith ? Neither would they have agreed better in their systems of government ; where some would have been for a king under the limitations of a Duke of Venice ; others for a Dutch republic ; a third

party for an aristocracy ; and most of all for some new fabric of their own contriving.

But, however, let us consider them as a party, and under those general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us examine those principles of the Tories, which their adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to those professions : after which, let the reader judge which of these two parties a prince has most to fear ; and whether her majesty did not consider the ease, the safety, and dignity of her person, the security of her crown, and the transmission of monarchy to her Protestant successors, when she put her affairs into the present hands.

Suppose the matter were now entire ; the queen to make her choice ; and for that end should order the principles on both sides to be fairly laid before her. First, I conceive the Whigs would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for crowned heads ; that they allow the person of the prince may, upon many occasions, be resisted by arms ; and they do not condemn the war raised against King Charles the First, or own it to be a rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the prerogative to be yet sufficiently limited ; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illustrious house of Hanover) to clip it still closer against the next reign ; which, consequently, they would be glad to see done in the present ; not to mention, that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to religion, their universal undisputed maxim is, that

it ought to make no distinction at all among Protestants; and in the word Protestant they include every body who is not a Papist, and who will by an oath give security to the government. Union in discipline and doctrine, the offensive sin of schism, the notion of a church and a hierarchy, they laugh at, as foppery, cant, and priestcraft. They see no necessity at all that there should be a national faith; and what we usually call by that name, they only style the religion of the magistrate. Since the dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the difference of a few speculative points, or modes of dress, incapacitate them from serving their prince and country, in a juncture, when we ought to have all hands up against the common enemy? And why should they be forced to take the sacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our posture; or, indeed, why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

These are the notions which most of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them on purpose in the same light, which themselves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuse them of; and how inviting even these doctrines are for such a monarch to close with, as our law, both statute and common, understands a King of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other opinions, which most of their own writers justify, and which their universal practice has given a sanction to; they are no more than what a prince might reasonably expect, as the natural consequence of those avowed principles. For, when such persons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes

will certainly lead them to violate that respect they ought to bear ; and at the same time their own want of duty to their sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater submissions to themselves from their fellow-subjects ; it being indisputably true, that the same principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with insolence, in the same proportion as he affronts his superiors ; as both prince and people have sufficiently felt from the late ministry.

Then, from their confessed notions of religion, as above related, I see no reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all sorts of dissenters, but the several gradations of freethinkers among us, all which are openly enrolled in their party ; nor why they were so averse from the present established form of worship, which, by prescribing obedience to princes from the topic of conscience, would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned ; I mean, that of preferring on all occasions the monied interest before the landed ; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it ; and at the rate they went on, might in a little time have found a majority of representatives, fitly qualified to lay those heavy burdens on the rest of the nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are some motives which might compel a prince, under the necessity of affairs, to deliver himself over to that party. They were said to possess the great bulk of cash, and consequently

of credit, in the nation ; and the heads of them had the reputation of presiding over those societies * who have the great direction of both ; so that all applications for loans to the public service, upon any emergency, must be made through them ; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them, because, in that case, it was not to be doubted that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all affairs, not only by shutting their own purses, but by endeavouring to sink credit, although with some present imaginary loss to themselves, only to show it was a creature of their own.

From this summary of Whig principles and dispositions, we find what a prince may reasonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly consider the doctrines of the Tories, which their adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, so they think it next to impossible to alter that institution here, without involving our whole island in blood and desolation. They believe that the prerogative of a sovereign ought at least to be held as sacred and inviolable as the rights of his people ; if only for this reason, because, without a due share of power, he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both statute and common, neither the person nor lawful authority of the prince ought, upon any pretence what-

* The Bank of England and East India Company. The former was so decidedly in the Whig interest, that the great Doctor Sacheverel, on appearing to give his vote for choosing governors and directors for the bank, was very rudely treated. *Post Boy*, April 19, 1710-11. Nor were the ministry successful in an attempt made about that time to put these great companies under Tory management.

soever, to be resisted or disobeyed. Their sentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being just the reverse to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the Whigs upon that article.

But here I must likewise deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteristic of the Tories, which has much discouraged some princes from making use of them in affairs. Give the Whigs but power enough to insult their sovereign, engross his favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow-subjects; they presently grow into good humour and good language toward the crown; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the world that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the Tories it must be confessed, that nothing of all this has been ever observed in them; in or out of favour you see no alteration, farther than a little cheerfulness or cloud in their countenances; the highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty; but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the same.

Having thus impartially stated the avowed principle of Whig and Tory, let the reader determine as he pleases to which of these two a wise prince may, with most safety to himself and the public, trust his person and his affairs: and whether it were rashness or prudence in her majesty to make those changes in the ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

No. XXXVI.

THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1711.

*Tres species tam dissimiles, tria talia texta,
Una dies dedit exitio —*

Such different forms of various threads combin'd,
One day destroy'd in common ruin join'd.

I WRITE this paper for the sake of the Dissenters, whom I take to be the most spreading branch of the Whig party that professes Christianity ; and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular system of it ; the bulk of those we call the Low Church being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point ; and the other subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or the New Testament into their scheme. By the Dissenters, therefore, it will easily be understood, that I mean the Presbyterians, as they include the sects of Anabaptists, Independents, and others, which have been melted down into them since the Restoration. This sect, in order to make itself national, having gone so far as to raise a rebellion, murder their king, destroy monarchy and the church, was afterward broken in pieces by its own divisions ; which made way for the king's return from his exile. However, the zealous among them did still entertain hopes of recovering the dominion of grace : whereof I have read a remarkable passage in a book published about the year 1661, and written by one of their

own side. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend asked him, whether he thought the cause would revive? He answered, The cause is in the bosom of Christ; and as sure as Christ rose from the dead, so sure will the cause revive also.* And, therefore, the Nonconformists were strictly watched, and restrained by penal laws, during the reign of King Charles the Second; the court and kingdom looking on them as a faction, ready to join in any design against the government in church or state. And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The Nonconformists were then exactly upon the same foot with our Nonjurors now, whom we double-tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting spirit; because we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, should altogether silence the Dissenters' complaints of persecution under King Charles

* I cannot find this peculiar expression among the "Speeches and Prayers of the King's Judges," 1660, nor in those of Barkstead, Okey, and Corbet, 1662, nor in the Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, Knt., 1662. That which approaches most near to it occurs among the "Passages and Occasional Speeches of General Harrison."—"As he was going to suffer, one in derision called to him and said, Where is your good old cause? He, with a cheerful smile, clapped his hand on his heart, and said, Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my blood."

Some very extraordinary expressions occur in these dying speeches, as was, indeed, to be expected from the peculiar tenets of the sufferers. Col. John Jones said of the sledge in which he was dragged to execution, that it was like the fiery chariot of Elijah, *only it went through Fleet Street.*

the Second ; or make them show us wherein they differed at that time from what our Jacobites are now.

Their inclinations to the church were soon discovered when King James the Second succeeded to the crown ; with whom they unanimously joined in its ruin, to revenge themselves for that restraint they had most justly suffered in the foregoing reign ; not from the persecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would suggest, but the prudence and caution of the legislature. The same indulgence against law was made use of by them and the Papists ; and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common interest.

But the Revolution happening soon after served to wash away the memory of the rebellion ; upon which the run against Popery was no doubt as just and reasonable as that of fanaticism after the Restoration : and the dread of Popery being then our latest danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our spirits, all mouths were open against that ; the Dissenters were rewarded with an indulgence by law ; the rebellion and king's murder were now no longer a reproach ; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durst call it a rebellion was a Jacobite and friend to France. This was the more unexpected, because, the Revolution being wholly brought about by Church of England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be, the relieving us from the encroachments of Dissenters, as well as those of Papists ; since both had equally confederated toward our ruin : and, therefore, when the crown was new settled, it was hoped, at least, that the rest of the constitution would be restored. But this affair took a very different turn : the Dissenters had just made a shift to save a tide, and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all

was desperate with their protector King James ; and, observing a party then forming against the old principles in church and state under the name of Whigs and Low Churchmen, they listed themselves of it, where they have ever since continued. It is, therefore, upon the foot they now are that I would apply myself to them, and desire they would consider the different circumstances at present from what they were under when they began their designs against the church and monarchy, about seventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party ; and whosoever joined with them from principles of revenge, discontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to shelter under their denomination ; united heartily in the pretences of a farther and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the great work (as the cant was then) that God was about to do in these nations ; received the systems of doctrine and discipline prescribed by the Scots, and readily took the covenant ; so that there appeared no division among them till after the common enemy was subdued.

But now their case is quite otherwise : and I can hardly think it worth being of a party upon the terms they have been received of late years. For, suppose the whole faction should at length succeed in their design of destroying the church ; are they so weak as to imagine that the new modelling of religion would be put into their hands ? would their brethren, the Low Churchmen and Freethinkers, submit to their discipline, their synods, and their classes ; and divide the lands of bishops, or deans and chapters, among them ? How can they help observing, that their allies, instead of pretending more sanctity than other men, are some of them for le-

velling all religion, and the rest for abolishing it? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the same manner as they were by King James the Second; made instruments to ruin the church; not for their own sakes, but, under a pretended project of universal freedom in opinion, to advance the dark designs of those who employ them? For, excepting the antimonarchical principle, and a few false notions about liberty, I see but little agreement between them; and even in these, I believe, it would be impossible to contrive a frame of government that would please them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But, however, to be sure the Presbyterian institution would never obtain. For, suppose they should, in imitation of their predecessors, propose to have no king but our Saviour Christ; the whole clan of Freethinkers would immediately object, and refuse his authority. Neither would their Low Church brethren use them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that, upon the whole, I do not see, as their present circumstances stand, where the Dissenters can find better quarter than from the Church of England.

Besides, I leave it to their consideration, whether, with all their zeal against the church, they ought not to show a little decency; and how far it consists with their reputation to act in concert with such confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the present most Christian king to assist the Turk against the emperor: policy and reasons of state were not allowed sufficient excuses for taking part with an infidel against a believer. It is one of the dissenters' quarrels against the church, that she is not enough reformed from Po-

pery ; yet they boldly entered into a league with Papists and a popish prince to destroy her. They profess much sanctity, and object against the wicked lives of some of our members ; yet they have been long, and still continue, in strict combination with libertines and atheists to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews should multiply, and become a formidable party among us ? Would the dissenters join in alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general principles, and because the Jews are allowed to be a stiffnecked and rebellious people ?

It is the part of wise men to conceal their passions, when they are not in circumstances of exerting them to purpose : the arts of getting power, and preserving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable hopes of the dissenters seem to be at an end ; their comrades, the Whigs and Freethinkers, are just in a condition proper to be forsaken ; and the parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the Whigs in general seems at present to be : the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed interest, as for a man of sixty to talk of entering on a new scene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumstances and new men must arise, as well as new occasions, which are not likely to happen in our time. So that the dissenters have no game left at present, but to secure their indulgence : in order to which, I will be so bold as to offer them some advice.

First, That until some late proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, so great a majority as there is

now against them ; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies ; but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better opportunity. I have shown they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed ; and they will certainly lose none by its fall, unless through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the queen ; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined interest of those who have used her so ill ; and by a due respect to the persons she is pleased to trust at present with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do them no good, and may possibly hurt them, what is left, but to be silent and passive ?

Secondly, Although there be no law (beside that of God Almighty) against occasional conformity, it would be prudence in the dissenters to use it as tenderly as they can : for, beside the infamous hypocrisy of the thing itself, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy necessary. And after all they have said to justify themselves in this point, it still continues hard to conceive, how those consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an employment has more power than the love of unity.

In the last place, I am humbly of opinion, that the dissenters would do well to drop that lesson they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehensions, that the Tories are in the interest of the Pretender, and would be ready to embrace the first opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worst grace in the world that they offer to join in the cry upon this article ; as if those, who alone stood in the gap against all the encroachments of Popery and arbitrary power, are not more likely to keep out both,

than a set of schismatics ; who, to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meanest compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate prince, to fall upon such measures, as must at last have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P. S. I wish those who give themselves the trouble to write to the Examiner, would consider whether what they send would be proper for such a paper to take notice of. I had one letter last week, written, as I suppose, by a divine, to desire I would offer some reasons against a bill now before the parliament for ascertaining the tithe of hops ; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, especially the poorer vicars. If it be as he says, (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it,) the convocation now sitting will, no doubt, upon due application, represent the matter to the House of Commons ; and he may expect all justice and favour from that great body, who have already appeared so tender of their rights.

A gentleman likewise, who has sent me several letters relating to personal hardships he received from some of the late ministry, is advised to publish a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

No. XXXVII.

THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1711.

Semper causæ eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa.

We are always more moved at the causes of events, than at the events themselves.

I AM glad to observe that several among the Whigs have begun very much to change their language of late. The style is now among the reasonable part of them, when they meet a man in business, or a member of parliament ; well, gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we shall no longer have any pretence to complain : they find, it seems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the Pretender, nor any preparatory steps toward it. They read no enslaving votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the subject. The indulgence to scrupulous consciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preserved, and not the least whisper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to support the war ; supplies cheerfully granted, and funds readily subscribed to, in spite of the little arts made use of to discredit them. The just resentments of some, which are laudable in themselves, and to which, at another juncture, it might be proper to give way, have been softened or diverted by the calmness of others ; so that, upon the article of present management, I do not see how any objection of weight can well be raised.

However, our adversaries still allege, that this great

success was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view ; that in public affairs we ought least of all others to judge by events ; that the attempt of changing a ministry, during the difficulties of a long war, was rash and inconsiderate ; that if the queen were disposed, by her inclinations, or from any personal dislike, for such a change, it might have been done with more safety in a time of peace ; that if it had miscarried by any of those incidents, which in all appearance might have intervened, the consequences would perhaps have ruined the whole confederacy ; and, therefore, however it has now succeeded, the experiment was too dangerous to try.

But this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit rashness, or chance, to have produced all this harmony and order. It is visible to the world, that the several steps toward this change were slowly taken, and with the utmost caution. The movers observed, as they went on, how matters would bear ; and advanced no farther at first, than so as they might be able to stop, or go back, if circumstances were not mature. Things were grown to such a height, that it was no longer the question, whether a person who aimed at an employment were a Whig or Tory ; much less, whether he had merit, or proper abilities, for what he pretended to : he must owe his preferment only to the favourites ; and the crown was so far from nominating, that they would not allow it a negative. This the queen was resolved no longer to endure ; and began to break into their prescription, by bestowing one or two places of consequence,* without consulting her ephori, after they had

* See Memoirs respecting the Change of Ministry, Vol. III. for the circumstances attending it.

fixed them for others, and concluded as usual, that all their business was to signify their pleasure to her majesty. But, although the persons the queen had chosen were such, as no objection could well be raised against upon the score of party, yet the oligarchy took the alarm; their sovereign authority was, it seems, called in question; they grew into anger and discontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated. All former obligations to their sovereign now became cancelled; and they put themselves upon the foot of the people, who are hardly used after the most eminent services.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politics, will agree, that a prince thus treated by those he has most confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himself as soon as possible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; because, from the monstrous encroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition, he cannot tell how long it may continue to be so. And it will be found, upon enquiring into history, that most of those princes, who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to struggle, until they were quite sunk.

The Whigs are every day cursing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and insatiable covetousness of a certain person,* as the cause of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that one single removal might have

* The Duchess of Marlborough; whose haughty conduct to the queen occasioned the rupture betwixt her majesty and the administration formed under the duchess's influence, and composed chiefly of her allies.

set all things right. But the interests of that single person were found, upon experience, so complicated and woven with the rest, by love, by awe, by marriage, by alliance, that they would rather confound heaven and earth than dissolve such a union.

I have always heard and understood, that a king of England, possessed of his people's hearts, at the head of a free parliament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that such a monarch ought to do ; and pursued the real interest of himself and his kingdom. Will they allow her majesty to be in those circumstances at present ? And was it not plain, by the addresses sent from all parts of the island,* and by the visible disposition of the people, that such a parliament would undoubtedly be chosen ? and so it proved, without the court's using any arts to influence elections.

What people then are these in a corner, to whom the constitution must truckle ? If the whole nation's credit cannot supply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legislature to a few retailers of money, it is high time we should sue for a peace. What new maxims are these, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise institution

* " The bulk of the High Church, or Tory party, being no less exasperated against the Low Church party than their leaders, were uneasy at the long, not to say imperious reign, of the old ministers and favourites ; they were both very industrious in procuring addresses, which, under pretence of expressing their loyalty to the queen, and affection to the church established, were mainly levelled, like so many batteries, against the ministry and parliament, and whole moderate party."—*Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne*, Vol. IX. p. 158.

would ever allow? must our laws from henceforward pass the Bank and East India Company, or have their royal assent, before they are in force?

To hear some of those worthy reasoners talking of credit, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious, you would think they were describing a lady troubled with vapours or the colick, to be removed only by a course of steel, or swallowing a bullet. By the narrowness of their thoughts, one would imagine they conceived the world to be no wider than Exchange Alley. It is probable they may have such a sickly dame among them; and it is well if she has no worse diseases, considering what hands she passes through. But the national credit is of another complexion; of sound health, and an even temper; her life and existence being a quintessence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom; and we find these money politicians, after all their noise, to be of the same opinion, by the court they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the form of a lottery.*

As to that mighty error in politics they charge upon the queen, for changing her ministry in the height of war, I suppose it is only looked upon as an error under a Whig-

* The lottery bill received the royal assent on the 6th March, and advertisement was made, that payments would begin to be received on Tuesday the 13th. But when the receivers met for this purpose on the morning of that day, it was found that L. 27,000 had been subscribed at the Bank of England above the first payment of the whole sum of L. 1,500,000. So that the lottery was more than full before the books were opened. But such a cry was raised against the directors of the bank and stock-jobbers, for having engrossed the fund to the disappointment of the public, that they found themselves obliged to give up one-fifth part of the tickets purchased. As these monied men were chiefly Whigs, Swift's sarcasm is easily understood.

gish administration : otherwise the late king had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late ministry, of famous memory, was brought in during the present war ; only with this circumstance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own principles, and then took in suitable companions.

But, however, I see no reason why the Tories should not value their wisdom by events as well as the Whigs. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, rash counsel, than that of altering the coin at the juncture it was done ; yet the prudence of the undertaking was sufficiently justified by the success. Perhaps it will be said, that the attempt was necessary, because the whole species of money was so grievously clipped and counterfeit : And is not her majesty's authority as sacred as her coin ? And has not that been most scandalously clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too ?

It is another grievous complaint of the Whigs, that their late friends, and the whole party, are treated with abundance of severity in print, and in particular by the Examiner. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of establishing themselves, their infirmities should be so often displayed, in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to set forth in their papers of the week ; and it is humorous enough to observe one page taken up in railing at the Examiner, for his invectives against a discarded ministry ; and the other side filled with the falsest and vilest abuses, against those who are now in the highest power and credit with their sovereign, and whose last breath would scatter them in silence and obscurity.

However, although I have indeed often wondered to see so much licentiousness taken and connived at, and am sure it would not be suffered in any other country of Christendom ; yet I never once invoked the assistance of the gaol or pillory, which, upon the least provocation, was the usual style during their tyranny. There has not passed a week these twenty years, without some malicious paper scattered in every coffee-house by the emissaries of that party, whether it were down or up. I believe they will not pretend to object the same thing to us : nor do I remember any constant weekly paper with reflections on the late ministry or junto. They have many weak defenceless parts ; they have not been used to a regular attack : and therefore it is that they are so ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn ; so that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their scandal and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear observing upon this occasion, that those worthy authors I am speaking of, seem to me not fairly to represent the sentiments of their party ; who, in disputing with us, do generally give up several of the late ministry, and freely own many of their failings. They confess the monstrous debt upon the navy to have been caused by most scandalous mismanagement ; they allow the insolence of some, the avarice of others, to have been insupportable ; but these gentlemen are most liberal in their praises to those persons, and upon those very articles, where their wisest friends give up the point. They gravely tell us that such a one was the most faithful servant that ever any prince had ; another, the most dutiful ; a third, the most generous ; a fourth, of the greatest integrity ; so that I look upon these champions

rather as retained by a cabal than a party ; which I desire the reasonable men among them would please to consider.

No. XXXVIII.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1711.

Indignum est in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur, discedi a legibus.

It is shameful and unworthy in a state, whose support and preservation is founded on laws, that the laws should be rendered useless, and evaded.

I HAVE been often considering how it comes to pass, that the dexterity of mankind in evil should always outgrow, not only the prudence and caution of private persons, but the continual expedience of the wisest laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to possess a greater share of natural wit or genius than an honest man. I have known very notable sharpers at play, who, upon other occasions, were as great dunces as human shape can well allow ; and I believe, the same might be observed among the other knots of thieves and pickpockets about this town. * The proposition, however, is certainly true, and to be confirmed by a hundred

* It may indeed be remarked, that many of those who resemble the fox in the ingenuity of their predatory stratagems, are, like the same animal, dull and incapable of receiving instruction to any useful purpose.

instances. A scrivener, an attorney, a stock-jobber, and many other retailers of fraud, shall not only be able to overreach others much wiser than themselves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made against them. I suppose the reason of this may be, that as the aggressor is said to have generally the advantage of the defender, so the makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have usually not so much industry or vigour, as those whose interest leads them to attack it. Besides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the public for their justice and virtue ; neither do those who act upon such principles expect any recompence until the next world ; whereas fraud, where it succeeds, gives present pay ; and this is allowed the greatest spur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to stop some growing evil, the wits of those whose interest it is to break it with secrecy or impunity are immediately at work ; and even among those who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they would not be thought to violate. They desire to reap the advantage, if possible, without the shame, or at least without the danger. This art is what I take that dexterous race of men, sprung up soon after the Revolution, to have studied with great application ever since ; and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of some Romish casuists, they have found out *quam propè ad peccatum sine peccato possint accedere* ; they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will just forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be sufficient to set you right, and put something in your pocket besides ; how much to a penny you may

safely cheat the queen, whether forty, fifty, or sixty per cent., according to the station you are in, and the dispositions of the persons in office below and above you. They have computed the price you may securely take or give for a place, or what part of the salary you ought to reserve; they can discreetly distribute five hundred pounds in a small borough, without any danger from the statutes against bribing at elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand, so that you shall not know whom to accuse; they can win a thousand guineas at play in spite of the dice, and send away the loser satisfied. They can pass the most exorbitant accounts, overpay the creditor with half his demands, and sink the rest.

It would be endless to relate, or rather indeed impossible to discover, the several arts, which curious men have found out to enrich themselves, by defrauding the public, in defiance of the law. The military men, both by sea and land, have equally cultivated this most useful science; neither has it been altogether neglected by the other sex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an instance, that would make ours blush to be so far outdone.

Besides, to confess the truth, our laws themselves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of our best possession, liberty. Some years ago the ambassador of a great prince* was arrested, and outrages committed on his person in our streets, without any possibility of redress from Westminster-hall, or the prerogative of the sovereign; and the legislature was forced to provide a remedy against the like evils in time

* Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy.

to come. * A commissioner of the stamped paper † was lately discovered to have notoriously cheated the public of great sums, for many years, by counterfeiting the stamps, which the law has made capital ; but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cause that saved his life ; and that additional heightening circumstance of betraying his trust was found to be a legal defence. I am assured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at Portsmouth, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by any law now in force, be punished in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. ‡ Nay,

* In September 1707, Matveof, the Russian ambassador, having taken leave at court, one Morton, a laceman, with some of his other creditors, fearing he was about to leave the kingdom without satisfying their claims, had him arrested in the open street, and forced to a spunging-house. Czar Peter the Great was violent and inexorable in his demand of satisfaction for this indignity ; nor was it possible for a long time to convince him that the creditors had, however imprudently, only availed themselves of the means of recovering their debts allowed them by the laws of the country ; and that, therefore, no legal punishment could be inflicted on them. At length, in 1709, the czar consented to rest satisfied with the queen's formal excuses, on account of the insufficiency of the laws ; and an act was passed to secure the persons, equipages, and effects, of ambassadors, from such indignities in future.

† He was a justice of peace, and worth twenty thousand pounds. His name was Dyet. His trial took place at the Old Bailey 13th January 1710-11. See *Journal to Stella*, 3d October, 1710.

‡ He alludes to a scandalous abuse detected by a representation from the victuallers of the navy, presented to the House of Commons. It was founded in each seaman being allowed seven pints of beer per day ; and although, when ships were in port, it was usual for the captain to allow great part of the crew to go ashore, the same quantity was charged to government ; the allowance of the absentees being held the perquisite of the purser, and through him of the captain. The surplus beer was either sold to merchant

what is almost incredible, had Guiscard survived his detestable attempt upon Mr Harley's person, all the inflaming circumstances of the fact would not have sufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have punished him with death; and the public must have lain under this dilemma, either to condemn him by a law *ex post facto*, (which would have been of dangerous consequence, and form an ignominious precedent,) or undergo the mortification to see the greatest villain upon earth escape unpunished, to the infinite triumph and delight of popery and faction. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that of all the insolences offered to the queen since the act of indemnity, (at least that ever came to my ears,) I can hardly instance above two or three, which, by the letter of the law, could amount to high treason.

From these defects in our laws, and the want of some discretionary power, safely lodged, to exert upon emergencies; as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of those laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the public are so seldom redressed. But, besides, no individual suffers by any wrong he does to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are seven or eight millions who contribute to the loss, while

vessels, or, what was more common, it was never received from the brewer, who gave the purser a sum of money in exchange for the difference between the quantity paid for by government, and that actually sent on board the vessel. By these collusory contracts, the nation was defrauded of large sums. Thomas Ridge, Esq. a member of the House of Commons, was expelled the House, and ordered to be prosecuted by the attorney-general for being accessory to such a fraud.

the whole gain is sunk among a few. The damage suffered by the public is not so immediately or heavily felt by particular persons ; and the zeal of prosecutions is apt to drop and be lost among numbers.

But imagine a set of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game visibly their own, and, by consequence, acting with great security ; may not these be sometimes tempted to forget their caution, by length of time, by excess of avarice and ambition, by the insolence or violence of their nature, or, perhaps, by a mere contempt for their adversaries ? May not such motives as these put them often upon actions directly against the law, such as no evasions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing interest, whenever they are out of power ? It is answered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuse the late ministry their due praises ; who, foreseeing a storm, provided for their own safety by two admirable expedients, by which, with great prudence, they have escaped the punishments due to pernicious counsels, and corrupt management. The first was to procure, under pretences hardly specious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The second was yet more refined ; suppose, for instance, a counsel is to be pursued, which is necessary to carry on the dangerous designs of a prevailing party, to preserve them in power, to gratify the unmeasurable appetites of a few leaders, civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation ; this counsel, desperate in itself, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an address, which makes it look like the sense of the nation. Under that shelter they carry on their work, and lie secure against after-reckonings.

I must be so free to tell my meaning in this ; that among other things, I understand it of the address made to the queen about three years ago, to desire that her majesty would not consent to a peace, without the entire restitution of Spain ; * a proceeding, which, to people abroad, must look like the highest strain of temerity, folly, and gasconade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can easily comprehend the depth and mystery of it. They were assured by this means to pin down the war upon us ; consequently, to increase their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties on the queen and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they should find themselves disposed to reverse their address, and give us leave to wish for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monstrous step in politics, I would ask him, what we must do in case we find it impossible to recover Spain ? Those among the Whigs, who believe a God, will confess that the events of war lie in his hands ; and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such power, will allow, that fortune has too great a share in the good or ill success of military actions, to let a wise man reason upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If Providence should think fit to refuse success to our arms, with how ill a grace, with what shame and confusion shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate address,

* In December 1707, both Houses of Parliament concurred in an address to the queen, founded upon previous resolutions adopted by the lords, the first of which was, "That no peace could be safe or honourable for her majesty and her allies, if Spain and the Spanish West Indies were suffered to continue in the possession of the house of Bourbon."

unless the world will be so charitable to consider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes ; and that, by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumstances, it is very possible for our island to be represented sometimes by those who have the least pretensions. So little truth or justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the actions of former senates ought always to be treated with respect by the latter ; that those assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another ; by which argument, the parliament that began the rebellion against King Charles I. voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with respect.

But to return from this digression ; it is very plain, that, considering the defectiveness of our laws, the variety of cases, the weakness of the prerogative, the power or cunning of ill-designing men, it is possible that many great abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished ; especially if we add to this, that some inquiries might probably involve those, whom upon other accounts it is not thought convenient to disturb. Therefore it is very false reasoning, especially in the management of public affairs, to argue that men are innocent, because the law has not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to supply such defects as these, that satire was first introduced into the world ; whereby those, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of punishment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be withheld by the shame of having their crimes exposed to open view in the strongest colours, and themselves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by such hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with ; but, next

to taming or binding a savage animal, the best service you can do the neighbourhood, is to give them warning either to arm themselves, or not come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any signs of remorse from the leaders of that faction, I should very gladly have changed my style, and forgot, or passed by, their million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of discovering their impotent zeal and malice; witness their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, beside that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things desperate, that themselves may be thought necessary. While they continue in this frantic mood, I shall not forbear to treat them as they deserve; that is to say, as the inveterate irreconcilable enemies to our country and its constitution.

No. XXXIX.

THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

————— in vain

The Gracchi of sedition will complain.

THERE have been certain topics of reproach liberally bestowed, for some years past, by the Whigs and Tories, upon each other. We charge the former with a design of destroying the established church, and introducing fanaticism and freethinking in its stead. We accuse them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine

the present form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or some new scheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other side, their clamours against us may be summed up in those three formidable words, Popery, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender. Our accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts; such as their perpetually abusing the whole body of the clergy; their declared contempt for the very order of priesthood; their aversion against episcopacy; the public encouragement and patronage they give to Tindal, Toland, and other atheistical writers; their appearing as professed advocates retained by the dissenters, excusing their separation, and laying the guilt of it to the obstinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the test, and their setting up the indulgence to scrupulous consciences, as a point of greater importance than the established worship. The regard they bear to our monarchy has appeared by their openly ridiculing the martyrdom of King Charles I. in their calves-head clubs, their common discourses, and their pamphlets; their denying the unnatural war raised against that prince to have been a rebellion; their justifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their industry in publishing and spreading seditious and republican tracts, such as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney on Government, and many others; their endless lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her majesty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce Popery, arbitrary power, and the Pretender, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear; however, these important words having, by dexterous management, been found of mighty service to their cause;

although applied with little colour either of reason or justice ; I have been considering whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to Popery, which is the first of these ; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any set of men among us, except the professors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here ; but the question is, whether the principles and practices of us, or the Whigs, be most likely to make way for it ? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the bosom of the Catholic church, one of the chief was to send Jesuits, and other emissaries, in lay habits ; who, personating tradesmen and mechanics, should mix with the people, and, under the pretence of a farther and purer reformation, endeavour to divide us into as many sects as possible ; which would either put us under the necessity of returning to our old errors, to preserve peace at home ; or, by our divisions, make way for some powerful neighbour, with the assistance of the Pope's permission, and a consecrated banner, to convert and ensave us at once. If this has been reckoned good politics, (and it was the best the Jesuit schools could invent,) I appeal to any man, whether the Whigs, for many years past, have not been employed in the very same work ? They professed on all occasions, that they knew no reason why any one system of speculative opinions (as they term the doctrines of the church) should be established by law more than another ; or why employments should be confined to the religion of the magistrate, and that called the church established. The grand maxim they laid down was, that no man, for the sake of a few notions and ceremonies, under the names of doctrine and discipline, should be denied the liberty of serving

his country : as if places would go a begging unless Brownists, Familists, Sweet-singers, Quakers, Anabaptists, and Muggletonians, would take them off our hands.

I have been sometimes imagining this scheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to see half a dozen Sweet-singers on the bench in their ermines, and two or three Quakers with their white staves at court. I can only say, this project is the very counterpart of the late King James's design, which he took up as the best method for introducing his own religion, under the pretext of a universal liberty of conscience, and that no difference in religion should make any in his favour. Accordingly, to save appearances, he dealt some employments among dissenters of most denominations ; and what he did was, no doubt, in pursuance of the best advice he could get at home or abroad ; but the church thought it the most dangerous step he could take for her destruction. It is true King James admitted Papists among the rest, which the Whigs would not : but this is sufficiently made up by a material circumstance, wherein they seem to have much outdone that prince, and to have carried their liberty of conscience to a higher point, having granted it to all the classes of Freethinkers, (which the nice conscience of a Popish prince would not give him leave to do,) and were therein mightily overseen ; because it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow step from atheism to the other extreme, superstition. So that, upon the whole, whether the Whigs had any real design of bringing in Popery or not, it is very plain that they took the most effectual step toward it ; and if the Jesuits had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter scholars.

Their second accusation is, that we encourage and maintain arbitrary power in princes; and promote enslaving doctrines among the people. This they go about to prove by instances; producing the particular opinions of certain divines in King Charles II.'s reign, a decree of Oxford university, and some few writers since the Revolution. What they mean is the principle of passive obedience and non-resistance, which those who affirm did, I believe, never intend should include arbitrary power. However, although I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent in a dispute to make any concessions, without the last necessity; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion, some writers did carry that tenet of passive obedience to a height which seemed hardly consistent with the liberties of a country, whose laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without the consent of the whole people: I mean not those who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legislature; but such as fix it entirely in the prince's person. This last has, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the Whigs quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abstracted from their senate.

By thus freely declaring my own sentiments of passive obedience, it will at least appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occasion pretend to speak their sentiments, but my own. The majority of the two Houses and the present ministry (if those be a party) seem to me in all their proceedings to pursue the real interest of church and state; and if I should happen to differ from particular persons among them in a single notion about government, I suppose they will not, upon that account, explode me and my paper. However, as

an answer, once for all, to the tedious scurrilities of those idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write, I must here inform them, that their censure is an effect of their principles. The present ministry are under no necessity of employing prostitute pens ; they have no dark designs to promote by advancing heterodox opinions.

But (to return) suppose two or three private divines under King Charles the Second did a little overstrain the doctrine of passive obedience to princes ; some allowance might be given to the memory of that unnatural rebellion against his father, and the dismal consequences of resistance. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the Revolution, that this doctrine was never designed to introduce arbitrary power.*

I look upon the Whigs and Dissenters to be exactly of the same political faith ; let us therefore see, what share each of them had in advancing arbitrary power. It is manifest, that the fanatics made Cromwell the most absolute tyrant in Christendom. The rump abolished the House of Lords, the army abolished the rump, and by this army of saints he governed. The dissenters took liberty of conscience and employments from the late King James, as an acknowledgment of his dispensing power ; which makes a king of England as absolute as the Turk. The Whigs, under the late king, perpetually declared for keeping up a standing army in times of peace ; which has, in all ages, been the first and great step to the ruin

* From this and many previous passages, it is obvious, that in joining the Tories, Swift reserved to himself the right of putting his own interpretation upon the speculative points of their political creed.

of liberty. They were besides discovering every day their inclinations to destroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies against the bishops sitting in the House of Peers; which was exactly copying after their predecessors of 1641. I need not say, their real intentions were to make the king absolute; but whatever be the designs of innovating men, they usually end in a tyranny; as we may see by a hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy mentioned by Machiavel.

In the third place, the Whigs accuse us of a design to bring in the Pretender; and to give it a greater air of probability, they suppose the queen to be a party in this design; which, however, is no very extraordinary supposition in those, who have advanced such singular paradoxes concerning Greg and Guiscard. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an instance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that if ever he be brought in, the Whigs are his men. For first, it is an undoubted truth, that a year or two after the Revolution, several leaders of that party had their pardons sent them by the late King James; and had entered upon measures to restore him, on account of some disobligation they received from King William.* Besides, I would ask, whether those who were under the greatest ties of gratitude to King James, are not at this day become the most zealous

* Marlborough, Sunderland, and Godolphin, are said to have been of this number; and it is added, that when the pardon was offered to James for his signature, he exclaimed, He never could forgive Lord Churchill until he should efface the memory of his ingratitude, by some eminent service.

Whigs? And of what party those are now, who kept a long correspondence with St Germain's?

It is likewise very observable of late, that the Whigs, upon all occasions, profess their belief of the Pretender's being no impostor, but a real prince, born of the late queen's body; which, whether it be true or false, is very unseasonably advanced, considering the weight such an opinion must have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the Pretender himself puts his chief hopes in the friendship he expects from the Dissenters and Whigs, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were most in credit; and he had reason to count upon the former, from the gracious treatment they received from his supposed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But farther, What could be more consistent with the Whiggish notion of a revolution principle, than to bring in the Pretender? A revolution principle, as their writings and discourses have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually disposing men to revolutions; and this is suitable to the famous saying of a great Whig, that the more revolutions the better; which, how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet after certain revolutions he lies down to rest: but heads under the dominion of the moon are for perpetual changes, and perpetual revolutions; besides, the Whigs owe all their wealth to wars and revolutions; like the girl at Bartholomew fair, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with swords in her hands.*

* An exhibition described at length in Ward's London Spy. The wonder and dexterity of the feat consisted in the damsel sus-

To conclude, the Whigs have a natural faculty of bringing in pretenders, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many pretenders to wit, honour, nobility, politics, have they brought in these last twenty years: in short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of pretenders in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a Pretender at their head.

No. XL.

THURSDAY, MAY 10, 1711.

Dos est magna parentum virtus.

The virtue of parents is a large dowry to their children.

I TOOK up a paper * some days ago in a coffee-house; and if the correctness of the style, and a superior spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an Examiner. In this paper there were several important propositions advanced. For instance, that Providence had raised up Mr Harley to be an instrument of great good, in a very

taining a number of drawn swords upright upon her hands, shoulders, and neck, and turning round so nimbly as to make the spectators giddy.

* The speaker's congratulation of Mr Harley in the name of the House, on his escape and recovery.—See the next Number,

critical juncture, when it was much wanted; that his very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities, and distinguished merit, by their unwearied and restless endeavours against his person and reputation; that they have had an inveterate malice against both; that he has been wonderfully preserved from some unparalleled attempts; with more to the same purpose. I immediately computed, by rules of arithmetic, that in the last cited words there was something more intended than the attempt of Guiscard, which, I think, can properly pass but for one of the some. And although I dare not pretend to guess the author's meaning; yet the expression allows such a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, most readers, both Whig and Tory, have agreed with me, that this plural number must, in all probability, among other facts, take in the business of Greg.

See now the difference of styles. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occasion, instead of saying how Mr Harley was treated by some persons, and preserved from some unparalleled attempts, I should, with intolerable bluntness and ill manners, have told a formal story of a committee sent to a condemned criminal in Newgate, to bribe him with pardon, on condition he would swear high treason against his master, who discovered his correspondence and secured his person, when a certain grave politician had given him warning to make his escape: and by this means I should have drawn a whole swarm of hedge-writers, to exhaust their catalogue of scurrilities against me, as a liar and slanderer. But, with submission to the author of that forementioned paper, I think he has carried that expression to the utmost it will bear; for, after all this notice, I know of but two attempts against Mr Harley, that can really be called

unparalleled, which are those aforesaid of Greg and Guiscard; and as to the rest, I will engage to parallel them from the story of Catiline, and others I could produce.

However, I cannot but observe, with infinite pleasure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with so many decent epithets, has been sufficiently confirmed at several times, by the resolutions of one or the other house of parliament. I may therefore now say, I hope, with good authority, that there have been some unparalleled attempts against Mr Harley; that the late ministry were justly to blame in some managements, which occasioned the unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the disappointment at Toulon; that the public has been grievously wronged by most notorious frauds during the Whig administration; that those who advised the bringing in the Palatines were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly passed their accounts for a great part of thirty-five millions, and ought not to be trusted in such employments any more. Perhaps, in a little time, I may venture to affirm some other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the same vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a period, instead of one Examiner, the late ministry might have had above four hundred, each of whose little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of Neptune's threat to the winds:

Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the sons of Æolus had almost sunk the ship with the tempests they raised, it was necessary to smooth the ocean, and secure the vessel, instead of pursuing the offenders.

But I observe the general expectation at present, instead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures who is to be punished for past miscarriages, seems bent upon the rewards intended to those, who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our constitution from its late dangers. It is the observation of Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, that his eminent services had raised a general opinion of his being designed by the emperor for prætor of Britain : *Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur* ; and then he adds, *Non semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit*. The judgment of a wise prince, and a general disposition of the people, do often point at the same person ; and sometimes the popular wishes do often foretel the reward intended for some superior merit. Thus, among several deserving persons, there are two, whom the public vogue has in a peculiar manner singled out, as designed very soon to receive the choicest marks of the royal favour ; one of them to be placed in a very high station, and both to increase the number of our nobility. * This, I say, is the general conjecture ; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled ; since it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greatest rewards.

Upon this occasion, I cannot but take notice, that of all the heresies in politics profusely scattered by the partisans of the late administration, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous consequences to monarchy, than that pernicious talent, so much affected, of discovering a contempt for birth, family, and ancient nobility. All the threadbare topics of poets and orators were displayed to discover to us, that

* Harley and Harcourt.

merit and virtue were the only nobility ; and that the advantages of blood could not make a knave or a fool either honest or wise. Most popular commotions we read of in the histories of Greece and Rome took their rise from unjust quarrels to the nobles ; and in the latter, the plebeians' encroachments on the patricians were the first cause of their ruin.

Suppose there be nothing but opinion in the difference of blood, every body knows, that authority is very much founded on opinion. But surely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of choosing the best companions to converse with, not being under the necessity of practising little mean tricks by a scanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of ancestors inciting to great and good actions ; these are usually some of the opportunities that fall in the way of those who are born of what we call the better families : and, allowing genius to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their side. Nay, we may observe in some, who, by the appearance of merit, or favour of fortune, have risen to great stations from an obscure birth, that they have still retained some sordid vices of their parentage or education ; either insatiable avarice or ignominious falsehood and corruption.

To say the truth, the great neglect of education in several noble families, whose sons are suffered to pass the most improveable seasons of their youth in vice and idleness, have too much lessened their reputation : but even this misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that Whigish practice of reviling the universities, under the

pretence of their instilling pedantry, narrow principles, and high-church doctrines.

I would not be thought to undervalue merit and virtue, wherever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the highest dignities in a state, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghill; but, however, that is not the most probable place to search for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a man of quality, without merit, is just so much the worse for his quality; which at once sets his vices in a more public view, and reproaches him for them. But, on the other side, I doubt those who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating personal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which nobody will dispute with them about; whereas they cannot, without impudence and folly, pretend to be nobly born; because this is a secret too easily discovered: for no men's parentage is so nicely inquired into as that of assuming upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, (as they often do,) or behave themselves with insolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this subject, whose philosophical scorn for blood and families reaches even to those that are royal, or perhaps took its rise from a Whiggish contempt of the latter; I am pleased to find two such instances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, has been held in veneration by all wise polite states, both ancient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great place or wealth from mean originals,

than their mighty solicitude to convince the world, that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out, by some strained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. Cromwell himself was pleased with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a branch of the royal stem. I know a citizen who adds or alters a letter in his name, with every plum he acquires ; he now wants only the change of a vowel * to be allied to a sovereign prince in Italy ; † and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a mistake of the graver upon his tombstone.

When I am upon this subject of nobility, I am sorry for the occasion given me to mention the loss of a person, who is so great an ornament to it, as the late lord-president ; ‡ who began early to distinguish himself in the pub-

* Sir H. Furnese.

† Farnese.

‡ Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, second son of the great Lord Clarendon. He had much of the elevated spirit of his father, though inferior in capacity, and was a distinguished leader of the Tories through the whole reign of Charles II. In that of James, Lord Rochester refused to change his religion, and was deprived of the office of treasurer ; nor did his consanguinity to Queen Mary procure him much favour in the reign of King William, who used to say, that the year 1700, in which he was placed at the head of affairs, was the most uneasy in his life. Upon the accession of Anne, he became a second time lord-lieutenant of Ireland ; which office he resigned so soon as the Whigs began to prevail in the queen's ministry. After their disgrace he was made president of the council, in room of Lord Somers, and died 2d May 1711. Most authors, Burnet himself not excepted, speak favourably of Rochester. The Duchess of Marlborough alone paints him to disadvantage ; chiefly, I suppose, owing to her jealousy of his title by birth to have influence with the queen. Her

lic service, and passed through the highest employments of state, in the most difficult times, with great abilities and untainted honour. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from late infusions, but were instilled into him by his illustrious father, and other noble spirits, who had exposed their lives and fortunes for the royal martyr :

—*Pulcherrima proles,*
Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.

His first great action was like Scipio, to defend his father when oppressed by numbers ; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a son, who, upon the like occasion, would have shown the same resolution.* No man ever preserved his dignity better

grace uses this odd expression : “ When one considers that his relation to her was by such a *sort of accident*, 'tis an amazing thing that he should imagine that he was to domineer over the queen, and every body else, as he did over his own family.” Now, the *accident* alluded to was that of the queen's father, when Duke of York, fulfilling the solemn contract under which he had been admitted to her mother's bed ; without which accident, it seems pretty clear, that Queen Anne either would not have existed at all, or certainly would not have mounted the throne. The duchess makes the same confusion respecting the queen's identity, which embarrassed the poor Irishman who complained of being changed at nurse.

* Dr Burton, speaking of Edward Earl of Clarendon, says, “ I cannot omit this remarkable circumstance in favour of his innocence, that when the tumultuous perplexed charge of accumulated treasons was preferred against him by the Commons, his son, Lawrence, then a member of that House, stepped forth with this brave defiance to his accusers, That if they could make out any proof of any one single article, he would, as he was authorized, join in the condemnation of his father.”—*Genuineness of Clarendon's History*, p. 111.

when he was out of power, nor showed more affability while he was in. To conclude, his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is such as his nearest friends may safely trust to the most impartial pen; nor wants the least of that allowance, which, they say, is required for those who are dead.

No. XLI.

THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1711.

——— *Quem cur distringere coner,*
Tutus ab infestis latronibus?

——— Safe it lies
Within the sheath, till thieves and villains rise.

I NEVER let slip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the present ministry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I first undertook this paper, I firmly resolved, that if ever I observed any gross neglect, abuse, or corruption in the public management, which might give any just offence to reasonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldness which becomes an honest man, and a true lover of his country; at the same time preserving the respect due to persons so highly entrusted by so wise and excellent a queen. I know not how such a liberty might have been resented; but I thank God there has been no

occasion given me to exercise it ; for I can safely affirm, that I have with the utmost rigour examined all the actions of the present ministry, as far as they fall under general cognizance, without being able to accuse them of one ill or mistaken step. Observing, indeed, some time ago, that seeds of dissension had been plentifully scattered from a certain corner, and fearing they began to rise and spread, I immediately writ a paper on the subject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required ; but the prudence of those at the helm soon prevented this growing evil ; and at present it seems likely to have no consequences.

I have had indeed for some time a small occasion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal subject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at present to as great a height, as a matter of that nature can possibly bear ; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiousness of several weekly papers, which, for some months past, have been chiefly employed in barefaced scurrilities against those who are in the greatest trust and favour with the queen, with the first and last letters of their names frequently printed, or some periphrasis describing their station, or other innuendoes contrived too plain to be mistaken. The consequence of which is, (and it is natural it should be so,) that their long impunity has rendered them still more audacious.

At this time I particularly intend a paper called the *Medley* ;* whose indefatigable incessant railings against

* A paper which was published regularly in answer to the Examiner, and to which we have already often referred. Mainwar-

me I never thought convenient to take notice of, because it would have diverted my design, which I intended to be of public use. Besides, I never yet observed that writer, or those writers, (for it is every way a Medley,) to argue against any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how soon the world grow weary of controversy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at least have been joined at times in that worthy composition ; but the outlines, as well as the finishing, seem to have been always the work of the same pen, as it is visible from half a score beauties of style inseparable from it. But who these Medlers are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I shall never go about to conjecture ; factious rancour, false wit, abandoned scurrility, impudent falsehood, and servile pedantry, having so many fathers, and so few to own them, that curiosity herself would not be at the pains to guess. It is the first time I ever did myself the honour to mention that admirable paper ; nor could I imagine any occasion likely to happen that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an adversary. This paper is weekly published, and, as appears by the number, has been so for several months ; and is, next to the *Observator*, allowed to be the best production of the party. Last week my printer brought me that of May 7, No. 32, where there are two paragraphs* relating to the speaker of the House of

ing was the principal writer, but he seems to have had occasional hints from Addison and Steele.

* The following are the two offensive paragraphs, as to which it is scarce necessary to observe, that the Examiner pretends to understand the abuse directed against his own paper, as applicable to the address of the House of Commons to Mr Harley :

Commons, and to Mr Harley, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an antagonist, I cannot let

“ In the first place, whenever any body would praise another, all he can say will have no weight or effect, if it be not true or probable. If, therefore, for example, my friend should take it into his head to commend a man for having been an instrument of great good to a nation, when in truth that very person had brought that same nation under great difficulties, to say no more; such ill chosen flattery would be of no use or moment, nor add the least credit to the persons so commended. Or if he should take that occasion to revive any false and groundless calumny upon other men, or another party of men; such an instance of impotent, but inveterate malice, would make him still appear more vile and contemptible. The reason of all which is, that what he said was neither just, proper, nor real, and, therefore, must needs want the force of true eloquence, which consists in nothing else but in well representing things as they really are. I, therefore, advise my friend, before he praises any more of his heroes, to learn the common rules of writing; and particularly to read over and over a certain chapter in Aristotle’s first book of Rhetoric, where are given very proper and necessary directions for praising a man who has done nothing that he ought to be praised for.”

“ But the ancients did not think it enough for men to speak what was true or probable, they required further, that their orators should be heartily in earnest; and that they should have all those motions and affections in their own minds which they endeavoured to raise in others. He that thinks, says Cicero, to warm others with his eloquence, must first be warm himself. And Quintilian says, We must first be affected ourselves before we can move others. This made Pliny’s panegyric upon Trajan so well received by his hearers, because every body knew the wonderful esteem and affection which he had for the person he commended: and, therefore, when he concluded with a prayer to Jupiter, that he would take care of the life and safety of that great and good man, which he said contained in it all other blessings; though the expression was so high, it passed very well with those that heard him, as being agreeable to the known sentiments and affection of the speaker. Whereas, if my friend should be known to bear ill will to another

pass without failing in my duty to the public: and if those in power will suffer such infamous insinuations to pass with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country of the world.

I desire to open this matter, and leave the Whigs themselves to determine upon it. The House of Commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the speaker should congratulate Mr Harley's escape and recovery, in the name of the House, upon his first attendance on their service. This is accordingly done; and the speech, together with the chancellor of the exchequer's, are printed by order of the House. The author of the *Medley* takes this speech to task the very next week after it is published; telling us in the aforesaid paper, that the speaker's commending Mr Harley for being an instrument of great good to the nation was ill chosen flattery; because Mr Harley had brought the nation under great difficulties, to say no more. He says, that when the speaker tells Mr Harley, that Providence has wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled attempts, (for that the *Medley* alludes to,) he only revives a false and groundless calumny upon other men; which is an instance of impotent, but inveterate malice, that makes him [the speaker] still appear more vile and contemptible. This is an extract from his first paragraph. In the next, this writer says, that the speaker's praying to God for the continuance of Mr Harley's life, as an invaluable

person, or to have an extreme bad opinion of him, or to think him an obstructor of those fine measures he would bring about, and should yet, in one of his panegyrics, pray to God for the continuance of that very person's life, as an invaluable blessing; such a fulsome piece of insincerity would only expose him to shame and derision."—*Medley*, No. 32.

blessing, was a fulsome piece of insincerity, which exposes him to shame and derision : because he is known to bear ill will to Mr Harley, to have an extreme bad opinion of him, and to think him an obstructor of those fine measures he would bring about.

I now appeal to the Whigs themselves, whether a great minister of state, in high favour with the queen, and a speaker of the House of Commons, were ever publicly treated after so extraordinary a manner, in the most licentious times ? For this is not a clandestine libel stolen into the world, but openly printed and sold with the bookseller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr Harley is generally believed upon the very point to be made an earl, and promoted to the most important station of the kingdom ; nay, the very marks of esteem he has so lately received, from the whole representative body of the people, are called ill-chosen flattery, and a fulsome piece of insincerity, exposing the donors to shame and derision.

Does this intrepid writer think he has sufficiently disguised the matter, by that stale artifice of altering the story, and putting it as a supposed case ? Did any man, who ever saw the congratulatory speech, read either of those paragraphs in the Medley, without interpreting them just as I have done ? Will the author declare upon his great sincerity, that he never had any such meaning ? Is it enough, that a jury at Westminster-hall would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the speaker and Mr Harley in that paper ? which, however, I am much in doubt of too ; and must think the law very defective, if the reputation of such persons must lie at the mercy of such pens. I do not remember to

have seen any libel, supposed to be writ with caution and double meaning in order to prevent prosecution, delivered under so thin a cover, or so unartificially made up, as this; whether it were from an apprehension of his readers' dulness, or an effect of his own. He has transcribed the very phrases of the speaker, and put them in a different character, for fear they might pass unobserved, and prevent all possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have recourse to the old evasion, and say, that I who make the application am chargeable with the abuse; let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear asserting as my opinion, that for a ministry to endure such open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deserving it. And this is an omission I venture to charge upon the present ministry, who are too apt to despise little things, which, however, have not always little consequences.

When this paper was first undertaken, one design among others was, to examine some of those writings so frequently published with an evil tendency either to religion or government; but I was long diverted by other inquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary; to animadvert upon men's actions, rather than their speculations; to show the necessity there was of changing the ministry, that our constitution in church and state might be preserved; to expose some dangerous principles and practices under the former administration; and prove by many instances, that those, who are now at the helm, are entirely in the true interest of prince and people. This I may modestly hope has in some measure been already done, sufficient to answer the end proposed, which was, to inform the ignorant, and those at a

distance ; and to convince such as are engaged in party from no other motive than that of conscience. I know not whether I shall have any appetite to continue this work much longer ; if I do, perhaps some time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false reasonings of those, who engage their pens on the other side, without losing time in vindicating myself against their scurrilities, much less in retorting them. Of this sort there is a certain humble companion, a French *maitre des langues*,* who every month publishes an extract from votes, newspapers, speeches, and proclamations, larded with some insipid remarks of his own ; which he calls, “ The Political State of Great Britain.” † This inge-

* Abel Boyer.

† Abel Boyer (the compiler of a French grammar and dictionary) conducted the monthly paper here mentioned, and, skimming the most important intelligence which its numbers contained, extracted from them once a-year his *Annals of Queen Anne*, a sort of annual chronicle. The passage which Swift censures follows an account of the attempted assassination of Harley, written expressly to supply the deficiencies, and correct the mis-statements of the narrative of the same event published by Mrs Manly, under the inspection of Swift himself ; and, as if this had not been sufficient provocation, he adds the following attack upon the Examiner: “ However, it is very observable, that the hot sticklers for the High Church party, both in their private discourses and in some public papers, did not fail laying hold on this occasion to asperse their antagonists the Whigs ; and, if not directly to involve them in a plot for which there was not indeed the least colour, at least, by forced and strained insinuations, to throw upon them part of the odium of Guiscard’s villainy ; though it is most certain the same was equally detested and abhorred by both parties, and, to do everybody justice, even by the Roman Catholics themselves ; nevertheless one of the Tory writers, shall I call him, or rather libellers, one who presumptuously sets up for an EXAMINER, who,

nious piece, he tells us himself, is constantly translated into French, and printed in Holland, where the Dutch, no doubt, conceive most noble sentiments of us, conveyed through such a vehicle. It is observable in his account for April, that the vanity, so predominant in many of his nation, has made him more concerned for the honour of Guiscard, than the safety of Mr Harley. And for fear we should think the worse of his country upon that assassin's account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villainies, committed in England than any other part of the world.* I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither master of our language, nor, indeed, of common sense, and who is devoted to a

in order, as he fondly expects, to make his court to some men in power, with equal insolence and malice, makes it his weekly business to slander the moderate party, who, without the least provocation, brandishes his virulent pen against the best men, and pretends to ridicule those very authors from whom he may still learn, if not the elements of speech, at least good manners; one, in short, whom I am forced to describe, because he has hitherto concealed his own name, how free soever he has been with that of others." Here Abel comes to a full stop, his wrath making him so far forget his *elements of speech*, as to neglect finding a verb to those repeated nominatives, until far advanced in the next period. *Political State of England for April, 1710-11.*

* The patriotism of Boyer seems to have felt Swift's national reflections upon France, as much as his imputations upon the Whigs, or, as Abel calls them, the moderate party. "As to the imputation of villainous assassinations which the Examiner charges so home on the French nation, I am heartily sorry he has given them so fair an opportunity to retort the unfair and unjust argument, from particulars to generals: for, without mentioning Felton, whose crime this writer has endeavoured to extenuate, no foreign records can afford a greater number of murders, parricides, and, to use the Examiner's expression, solid villainies, than our English history."—*Political State of England.*

faction, I suppose for no other reason but his having more Whig customers than Tories, should take it into his head to write politic tracts of our affairs. But I presume he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his insolence in one of his monthly former productions; which is a method that seldom fails of giving some vogue to the foolishest composition.* If such a work must be done, I wish some tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not suffer a little whiffling Frenchman to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and presume to instruct foreigners in our politics.

No. XLII.

THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1711.

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum.*

You of your father's crimes the guilt shall bear,
Unless the sacred temples you repair.

SEVERAL letters have been lately sent me, desiring I would make honourable mention of the pious design of

* I know not how Boyer fell first under the grasp of power, but he owed a second distinction of this kind to Swift.—“ One Boyer, a French dog, has abused me in a pamphlet, and I have

building fifty churches in several parts of London and Westminster, where they are most wanted, occasioned by an address of the convocation to the queen, and recommended by her majesty to the House of Commons; who immediately promised they would enable her to accomplish so excellent a design, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of the session; at which time, I proposed to deliver a particular account of the great and useful things already performed by this present parliament. But, in compliance to those who give themselves the trouble of advising me, and partly convinced by the reasons they offer, I am content to bestow a paper upon a subject that, indeed, so well deserves it.

The clergy, and whoever else have a true concern for the constitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleased with one prospect in this new scene of public affairs. They may very well remember the time when every session of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads; and if it happened to pass without bursting into some storm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it a happy escape until the next meeting; upon which we resumed our secret apprehensions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered; the parliament takes the necessities of the church into consideration, receives the proposals of the

got him into a messenger's hands, and the secretary promises me to swinge him.—I must make that rogue an example, for warning to others." *Journal to Stella*, 16 Oct. 1711. See Boyer's own account of the prosecution against him in a note on the passage.

clergy met in convocation, and amid all the exigencies of a long expensive war, and under the pressure of heavy debts, finds a supply for erecting fifty edifices for the service of God. And it appears by the address of the Commons to her majesty upon this occasion, (wherein they discovered a true spirit of religion,) that, applying the money granted to accomplish so excellent a design, would, in their opinion, be the most effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to use their own words) be a means of drawing down blessings on her majesty's undertakings, as it adds to the number of those places, where the prayers of her devout and faithful subjects will be daily offered up to God for the prosperity of her government at home, and the success of her arms abroad.*

I am sometimes hoping that we are not naturally so bad a people as we have appeared for some years past. Faction, in order to support itself, is generally forced to make use of such abominable instruments, that, as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is overpressed, and cannot appear to exert itself; but, when that is broken

* The expressions of the address of thanks in answer to the queen's message, requesting the Commons to make provision for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, are these:—"Neither the long expensive war in which we are engaged, nor the pressure of heavy debts under which we labour, shall hinder us from granting to your majesty whatever is necessary to accomplish so excellent a design, which we hope may be a means of drawing down blessings from Heaven on all your majesty's other undertakings; as it adds to the number of those places where the prayers of your devout and faithful subjects will be daily offered up to God for the prosperity of your majesty's government at home, and the success of your arms abroad."

and suppressed, when things return to the old course, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reason and religion. The Romans, upon a great victory or escape from public danger, frequently built a temple in honour of some god, to whose peculiar favour they imputed their success or delivery; and sometimes the general did the like, at his own expence, to acquit himself of some pious vow he had made. How little of any thing resembling this has been done by us after all our victories! And, perhaps, for that reason among others, they have turned to so little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and, therefore, it was consistent to offer up our edifices only to those whom we looked upon as givers of all victory in his stead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at six thousand pounds for a church, which is somewhat under the price of a subject's palace; yet, perhaps, the care of above two hundred thousand souls, with the benefit of their prayers for the prosperity of their queen and country, may be almost put in the balance with the domestic convenience, or even magnificence, of any subject whatsoever.

Sir William Petty, who, under the name of Captain Graunt, published some observations upon the bills of mortality above five years after the Restoration, tells us, the parishes in London were even then so unequally divided, that some were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time, the increase of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the desire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the fire, and has ever since continued, have prodigiously enlarged this town on all sides where it was ca-

pable of increase ; and those tracts of land built into streets have generally continued of the same parish they belonged to while they lay in fields ; so that the care of about thirty thousand souls has been sometimes committed to one minister, whose church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock ; neither, I think, was any family in those parishes obliged to pay above a groat a-year to their spiritual pastor. Some few of those parishes have been since divided ; in others were erected chapels of ease, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor shifts and expedients, to the infinite shame and scandal of so vast and flourishing a city, have been thought sufficient for the service of God and religion, as if they were circumstances wholly indifferent.

This defect, among other consequences of it, has made schism a sort of necessary evil ; there being at least three hundred thousand inhabitants in this town, whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever so well disposed : and in a city not overstocked with zeal, the only way to preserve any degree of religion is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as easy and cheap as possible : whereas, on the contrary, in the larger parishes, the press is so great, and the pew-keepers' tax so exorbitant, that those who love to save trouble and money either stay at home or retire to the conventicles. I believe there are few examples in any Christian country of so great a neglect of religion ; and the dissenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, sowing tares among the wheat while men slept, being much more expert at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And, to say truth, the way practised by several parishes in and about this town of maintaining their clergy by voluntary subscriptions is not only an indignity to the character, but has many pernicious consequences attending it ; such a precarious dependence subjecting a clergyman, who has not more than ordinary spirit and resolution, to many inconveniences, which are obvious to imagine ; but this defect will, no doubt, be remedied by the wisdom and piety of the present parliament, and a tax laid upon every house in a parish for the support of their pastor. Neither, indeed, can it be conceived, why a house, whose purchase is not reckoned above one-third less than land of the same yearly rent, should not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half tithe) to the support of the minister. One thing I could wish, that, in fixing the maintenance to the several ministers in these new intended parishes, no determinate sum of money may be named ; which, in all perpetuities, ought, by any means, to be avoided ; but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each house, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in several parishes of the city after the fire, where the incumbent and his successors were to receive for ever a certain sum ; for example, one or two hundred pounds a-year. But the lawgivers did not consider, that what we call at present one hundred pounds, will not, in process of time, have the intrinsic value of twenty ; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty shillings three hundred years ago. There are a thousand instances of this all over England, in reserved rents applied to hospitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themselves, in those payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no prince had ever better dispositions than her present majesty for the advancement of true religion, so there never was any age that produced greater occasions to employ them on. It is an unspeakable misfortune, that any design of so excellent a queen should be checked by the necessities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of modern politicians have involved us in, against all the maxims whereby our country flourished so many hundred years; else her majesty's care of religion would certainly have reached even to her American plantations. Those noble countries, stocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until some better care be taken for cultivating Christianity among them. If the governors of those several colonies were obliged, at certain times, to transmit an exact representation of the state of religion in their several districts, and the legislature here would, in a time of leisure, take that affair under their consideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her majesty's reign.

But, to wave farther speculations upon so remote a scene, while we have subjects enough to employ them on at home; it is to be hoped the clergy will not let slip any proper opportunity of improving the pious dispositions of the queen and kingdom, for the advantage of the church; when, by the example of times past, they consider how rarely such conjunctures are likely to happen. What if some method were thought on toward the repairing of churches; for which there is likely to be too frequent occasion, those ancient Gothic structures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay?

That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections, seems, in my opinion, not very suitable either to the dignity and usefulness of the work, or to the honour of our country; since it might be so easily done, with very little charge to the public, in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are so frequently called. But these, and other regulations, must be left to a time of peace, which I shall humbly presume to wish may soon be our share, however offensive it may be to any, either abroad or at home, who are gainers by the war.

No. XLIII.

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1711.

Scilicet, ut posses curvo dignoscere rectum.

That hence you may distinguish right from wrong.

HAVING been forced in my papers to use the cant words of Whig and Tory, which have so often varied their significations for twenty years past, I think it necessary to say something of the several changes those two terms have undergone since that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always understood by each of them, since I undertook this work. I reckon that these sorts of conceited appellations are usually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themselves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cause, are consequently the most violent partisans of what they espouse,

and in their quarrels usually proceed to their beloved argument of calling names, until at length they light upon one which is sure to stick : and, in time, each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adversaries at first intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the Prasini and Veneti,* the Guelfs and Gibe-lines, † Huguenots and Papists, Roundheads and Cavaliers, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us, of late, there seems to have been a barrenness of invention in this point ; the words Whig and Tory, although they be not much above thirty years old, having been pressed to the service of many successions of parties, with very different ideas fastened to them. This distinction, I think, began toward the latter part of King Charles the Second's reign, ‡ was dropped during that of his successor, and then revived at the Revolution ; since which it has perpetually flourished, although applied to very different kinds of principles and persons. In that convention of Lords and Commons, some of both Houses were for a regency to the Prince of Orange, with a reservation of style and title to the absent king, which should be made use of in all public acts : others, when they were brought to allow the

* In the lower ages of the empire.

† In Florence.

‡ *Whig-a-more* was a nick-name given to the western peasantry of Scotland, from their using the words frequently in driving strings of horses. Hence, as connected with calvinistical principles in religion, and republican doctrines in policy, it was given as a term of reproach to the opposition party in the latter years of Charles II. These retorted upon the courtiers the word *Tory*, signifying an Irish freebooter, and particularly applicable to the Roman Catholic followers of the Duke of York. At length, both parties acknowledged, and prided themselves on the distinctions, originally meant to convey reproach and disgrace.

throne vacant, thought the succession should immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the last king were actually dead. And although the dissenting lords (in whose House the chief opposition was) did at last yield both those points, took the oaths to the new king, and, many of them, employments, yet they were looked upon with an evil eye by the warm zealots of the other side; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although some of them were of the most eminent for abilities and virtue, and served that prince, both in his councils and his army, with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the same time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleased with the scheme of a regency, or at least an uninterrupted lineal succession, for the sake of those whose consciences were truly scrupulous; and they thought there were some circumstances in the case of the deprived bishops, that looked a little hard, or at least deserved commiseration.

These, and other the like reflections, did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of Whig and Tory.

Some time after the Revolution, the distinction of high and low church came in, which was raised by the dissenters, in order to break the church party by dividing the members into high and low; and the opinions raised, that the high joined with the Papists, inclined the low to fall in with the dissenters.

And here I shall take leave to produce some principles, which, in the several periods of the late reign, served to denote a man of one or the other party. To be against a standing army in time of peace, was all high-church, Tory, and Tantivy; to differ from a majo-

riety of bishops, was the same. To raise the prerogative above law for serving a turn, was low-church and Whig. The opinion of the majority in the House of Commons, especially of the country party or landed interest, was high-flying and rank Tory. To exalt the king's supremacy beyond all precedent, was low-church, Whiggish, and moderate. To make the least doubt of the pretended prince's being suppositious, and a tiler's son, was in their phrase top and topgallant, and perfect jacobitism. To resume the most exorbitant grants that were ever given to a set of profligate favourites, and apply them to the public, was the very quintessence of Toryism; notwithstanding those grants were known to be acquired by sacrificing the honour and the wealth of England.

In most of these principles, the two parties seem to have shifted opinions, since their institution under King Charles the Second, and, indeed, to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the Revolution. But as to that concerning the Pretender, the Whigs have so far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy; which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble duke, who was accused of a blunder in the House, when, upon a certain lord's mentioning the pretended prince, his grace told the lords he must be plain with them, and call that person, not the pretended prince, but the pretended impostor; which was so far from a blunder in that polite lord, as his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed sentiments of his whole party.

But to return; this was the state of principles, when the queen came to the crown; some time after which, it pleased certain great persons, who had been all their

lives in the altitude of Tory profession, to enter into a treaty with the Whigs, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends ; who began to be resty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor consent to carry on the war entirely at the expence of this nation, that they might have pensions from abroad ; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace ; whereas the other party, whose case appeared then as desperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a sacrifice to the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth in a very few, that shall be nameless, who, in every step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his royal highness the prince * had died some years sooner, (who was a perpetual check in their career,) it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that time, the bulk of the Whigs appears rather to be linked to a certain set of persons, than any certain set of principles ; so that, if I were to define a member of that party, I should say, he was one who believed in the late ministry. And, therefore, whatever I have affirmed of Whigs in any of these papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood, either of those who were partizans of the late men in power, and privy to their designs ; or such, who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and dissenters of all sizes ; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption, and dreaded a change, which

* Prince George of Denmark.

would not only put a stop to farther abuses for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was past; or those, who had been too highly obliged to quit their supporters with any common decency; or, lastly, the money-traders, who could never hope to make their markets so well of premiums, and exorbitant interest, and high remittances, under any other administration.

Under these heads may be reduced the whole body of those, whom I have all along understood for Whigs; for I do not include within this number any of those, who have been misled by ignorance, or seduced by plausible pretences, to think better of that sort of men than they deserve, and to apprehend mighty danger from their disgrace: because I believe the greatest part of such well-meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

And, indeed, it must be allowed, that the two fantastic names of Whig and Tory have, at present, very little relation to those opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the Revolution, to be against the Pretender, to justify the succession in the house of Hanover, to think the British monarchy not absolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not dispense with, and to allow an indulgence to scrupulous consciences; such man was content to be called a Whig. On the other side, whoever asserted the queen's hereditary right, that the persons of princes were sacred, their lawful authority not to be resisted on any pretence; nor even their usurpations, without the most extreme necessity; that breaches in the succession were highly dangerous; that schism was a great evil, both in itself and its consequences; that the ruin of the church would probably be

attended with that of the state ; that no power should be trusted with those who are not of the established religion ; such a man was usually called a Tory. Now, although the opinions of both these are very consistent, and, I really think, are maintained at present by a great majority of the kingdom ; yet according as men apprehend the danger greater, either from the Pretender and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other enemies to the constitution, so their common discourses and reasonings turn either to the first or second set of these opinions I have mentioned ; and they are consequently styled either Whigs or Tories. Which is as if two brothers apprehended their house would be set upon, but disagreed about the place whence they thought the robbers would come, and, therefore, would go on different sides to defend it ; they must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a separation ; and so did we, only our case was worse ; for, in order to keep off a weak remote enemy, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any danger, we took a nearer and a stronger one into the house. I make no comparison at all between the two enemies ; popery and slavery are, without doubt, the greatest and most dreadful of any ; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of these have not, at least since the Revolution, been so close and pressing upon us, as that from another faction ; excepting only one short period, when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicating king to return ; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared what sort of persons I have always meant under the denomination of Whigs, it will be easy to show whom I understand by Tories. Such, whose principles in church and state are what I have

above related ; whose actions are derived thence, and who have no attachment to any set of ministers, farther than as they are friends to the constitution in all its parts ; but will do their utmost to save their prince and country, whoever be at the helm.

By these descriptions of Whig and Tory, I am sensible those names are given to several persons very undeservedly ; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the least title to the blame or praise I have bestowed on each of them throughout my papers.

No. XLIV.

THURSDAY, JUNE 7, 1711.

Magna vis est, magnum nomen, unum et idem sentientis senatus.

Great is the name and authority of a senate, in which unanimity prevails.

WHOEVER calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealousies, the shameful misrepresentation of persons and of things, that were raised and spread by the leaders and instruments of a certain party upon the change of the last ministry, and dissolution of the parliament ; if he be a true lover of his country, must feel a mighty pleasure, although mixed with some indignation, to see the wishes, the conjectures, the endeavours, of an inveterate faction entirely disappointed ; and this important period wholly spent in restoring the

prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the subject ; in reforming past abuses, and preventing future ; supplying old deficiencies, providing for debts, restoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the necessities of the church ; and all this, unattended with any of those misfortunes which some men hoped for, while they pretended to fear.

For my own part, I must confess the difficulties appeared so great to me, from such a noise and show of opposition, that I thought nothing but the absolute necessity of affairs could ever justify so daring an attempt. But a wise and good prince, at the head of an able ministry, and of a senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true interest of their country, is a power against which the little inferior politics of any faction will be able to make no long resistance. To this we may add one additional strength, which, in the opinion of our adversaries, is the greatest and justest of any ; I mean the *vox populi*, so indisputably declarative on the same side. I am apt to believe, when these discarded politicians begin seriously to consider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reserve their wisdom for some more convenient juncture.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that those who were the chief instruments of raising the noise, who started fears, bespoke dangers, and formed ominous prognostics, in order to scare the allies, to spirit the French, and fright ignorant people at home, made use of those very opinions themselves had broached, for arguments to prove that the change of ministers was dangerous and unseasonable. But if a house be swept, the more occasion there is for such a work, the more dust it will raise ; if it be going to ruin, the repairs, however necessary, will make a

noise, and disturb the neighbourhood a while. And as to the rejoicings made in France, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of those alterations among us ; their joy was grounded upon the same hopes with that of the Whigs, who comforted themselves that the change of ministry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confusion, increase our divisions, and destroy our credit, wherein I suppose by this time they are equally undeceived.

But this long session being in a manner ended, which several circumstances, and one accident altogether unforeseen, have drawn out beyond the usual time ; it may be some small piece of justice to so excellent an assembly, barely to mention a few of those great things they have done for the service of their queen and country, which I shall take notice of just as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to suffer by a discount upon exchequer bills, which have been generally reckoned the surest and most sacred of all securities. The present lord-treasurer, then a member of the House of Commons, proposed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raising them to a par with species ; and so they have ever since continued.

The British colonies of Nevis and St Christopher's had been miserably plundered by the French, their houses burnt, their plantations destroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away prisoners ; they had often, for some years past, applied in vain for relief from hence ; until the present parliament, considering their condition as a case of justice and mercy, voted them one hundred thousand pounds by way of recompence, in some manner, for their sufferings.

Some persons, whom the voice of the nation authorizes

me to call her enemies, taking advantage of the general naturalization act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions, under the name of Palatines, who understood no trade or handicraft, yet rather chose to beg than labour ; who, beside infesting our streets, bred contagious diseases, by which we lost in natives thrice the number of what we gained in foreigners.* The House of Commons, as a remedy against this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization ; which, to the surprise of most people, was rejected by the Lords.

* The exactions of the French armies in the Palatinate, in the year 1709, drove from their habitations six or seven thousand persons of all descriptions and professions, who came into Holland with a view of emigrating to British America. It was never accurately ascertained, with what view, or by whose persuasions, their course was changed, but, by direction from the English ministers, they were furnished with shipping to come to England. In the settlements, they would have been a valuable colony ; but in the vicinity of London, this huge accession to the poor of the metropolis was a burthen and a nuisance. They were encamped on Blackheath, near Greenwich, where, so soon as their countrymen heard that they were supported by British charity, the number of the fugitives began to increase by recruits from the Continent, till government prohibited further importation. A general naturalization act, passed in favour of the French Protestants, greatly encouraged this influx of strangers. This matter was inquired into by the Tory parliament, who voted, that the bringing over the Palatines was an oppression on the nation, and a waste of the public money, and that he who advised it was an enemy to his country. The unfortunate fugitives had been already dispersed ; some of them to North America, some to Ireland, and some through Britain. The pretence alleged for the vote against them, was the apprehension expressed by the guardians of the poor in several parishes, that they might introduce contagious diseases ; but the real reason was a wish to gratify the prejudice of the common people against foreigners, and to diminish the number of dissenters.

And upon this occasion I must allow myself to have been justly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors, for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; * wherein the Commons being disappointed, took care, however, to send many of the Palatines away, and to represent their being invited over as a pernicious counsel.

The qualification-bill, incapacitating all men to serve in parliament, who have not some estate in land, † either in possession or certain reversion, is perhaps the greatest security that ever was contrived for preserving the constitution, which otherwise might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the monied interest. And since much the greatest part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land, or from its productions, it is but common justice, that those, who are the proprietors, should appoint what portion of it ought to go to the support of the public; otherwise the engrossers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themselves never touch with one of their fingers.

The public debts were so prodigiously increased by the negligence and corruption of those who had been managers of the revenue, that the late ministers, like careless men who run out their fortunes, were so far from any thoughts of payment, that they had not the courage to state or compute them. The parliament found that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for,

* The bill for repeal of that act was, however, again brought in, and passed next session in both Houses.

† Namely, L. 600 yearly for a knight of the shire, and L. 300 for a burgess.

amounted to nine millions. The late chancellor of the exchequer,* suitable to his transcendent genius for public affairs, proposed a fund, to be security for that immense debt; which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greatest restoration and establishment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legislature has appointed commissioners of accompts to inspect into past mismanagements of the public money, and prevent them for the future.

I have in a former paper mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjust to conceal my lord high treasurer's concern for religion, which has extended even to another kingdom: his lordship having some months ago obtained of her majesty the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy of Ireland, as he is known to have before done to that reverend body here.

The act for carrying on a trade to the South Sea, proposed by the same great person, whose thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with success, on the good of his country, will, in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlasting honour to the present parliament.

I might go on farther, and mention that seasonable law against excessive gaming; and putting a stop to that scandalous fraud of false musters in the guards;† the di-

* Earl of Oxford.

† Which had been formerly very numerous; the officers conniving at tradesmen, and others, who enlisted merely for the purpose of securing their persons from their creditors, and, as they did no duty, were contented that the officers should draw their pay. These inefficient recruits were called *Romans*, because they served their country without pay.

ligent and effectual inquiry made by the Commons into several gross abuses. I might produce many instances of their impartial justice in deciding controverted elections, against former example, and great provocations to retaliate. I might show their cheerful readiness in granting such vast supplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the queen; and lastly, that representation made to her majesty from the House of Commons, discovering such a spirit and disposition in that noble assembly to redress all those evils which a long mal-administration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that, trusting only to my memory, I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend farther in the compass of this paper, than to give the world some general, however imperfect, idea, how worthily this great assembly has discharged the trust of those who so freely chose them; and what we may reasonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wisdom, and loyalty, of such excellent patriots, in a time so fruitful of occasions to exert the greatest abilities.

And now I conceive the main design I had in writing these papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced that the queen proceeded with the highest wisdom in changing her ministry and parliament; that under a former administration the greatest abuses of all kinds were committed, and the most dangerous attempts against the constitution for some time intended. The whole kingdom finds the present persons in power directly and openly pursuing the true service of their queen and country; and to be such, whom their most bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery,

covetousness, ambition, pride, insolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, those little barking curs, which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no farther consequence to what I have written, than the scoffing slaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no stop or disturbance in the show. However, if those perpetual snarlers against me had the same design, I must own they have effectually compassed it; since nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the same species with creatures capable of uttering so much scurrility, dulness, falsehood, and impertinence, to the scandal and disgrace of human nature.

No. XLV.

THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1711.

Melius non tangere clamo.

WHEN a general has conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often finds it necessary to send out small bodies, in order to take in petty castles and forts, and beat little straggling parties, which are otherwise apt to make head, and infest the neighbourhood. This case exactly resembles mine. I count the main body of the Whigs entirely subdued; at least, till they appear with new reinforcements, I shall reckon them as such; and, therefore, do now find myself at leisure to

examine inferior abuses. The business I have left is, to fall on those wretches that will be still keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining, but their bare good will toward faction and mischief: I mean the present set of writers, whom I have suffered, without molestation, so long to infest the town. Were there not a concurrence from prejudice, party, weak understanding, and misrepresentation, I should think them too inconsiderable in themselves to deserve correction. But as my endeavour has been to expose the gross impositions of the fallen party, I will give a taste, in the following petition, of the sincerity of these their factors, to show how little those writers for the Whigs were guided by conscience or honour, their business being only to gratify a prevailing interest.

“ To the Right Honourable the present Ministry,
the humble Petition of the Party Writers to the
late Ministry ;

“ HUMBLY SHEWETH,

“ That your petitioners have served their time to the trade of writing pamphlets and weekly papers, in defence of the Whigs, against the church of England, and the Christian religion, and her majesty’s prerogative, and her title to the crown: That, since the late change of ministry, and meeting of this parliament, the said trade is mightily fallen off, and the call for the said pamphlets and papers much less than formerly ; and it is feared, to our farther prejudice, that the Examiner may discontinue writing, whereby some of your petitioners will be brought to utter distress, forasmuch as, through false quotations,

noted absurdities, and other legal abuses, many of your petitioners, to their great comfort and support, were enabled to pick up a weekly subsistence out of the said Examiner.

“ That your said poor petitioners did humbly offer your Honours to write in defence of the late change of ministry and parliament, much cheaper than they did for your predecessors ; which your Honours were pleased to refuse.

“ Notwithstanding which offer, your petitioners are under daily apprehension that your Honours will forbid them to follow the said trade any longer, by which your petitioners, to the number of fourscore, with their wives and families, will inevitably starve, having been bound to no other calling.

“ Your petitioners desire your Honours will tenderly consider the premises, and suffer your said petitioners to continue their trade, (those who set them at work being still willing to employ them, though at lower rates,) and your said petitioners will give security to make use of the same stuff, and dress in the same manner as they always did, and no other. And your petitioners,” &c.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
 consideration of the subject, and to a statement of the
 objects which it has in view. It is then divided into
 three parts, the first of which is devoted to a
 description of the nature and extent of the
 disease, and to a statement of the symptoms
 which it produces. The second part is devoted
 to a description of the nature and extent of the
 disease, and to a statement of the symptoms
 which it produces. The third part is devoted
 to a description of the nature and extent of the
 disease, and to a statement of the symptoms
 which it produces.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a
 description of the nature and extent of the
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